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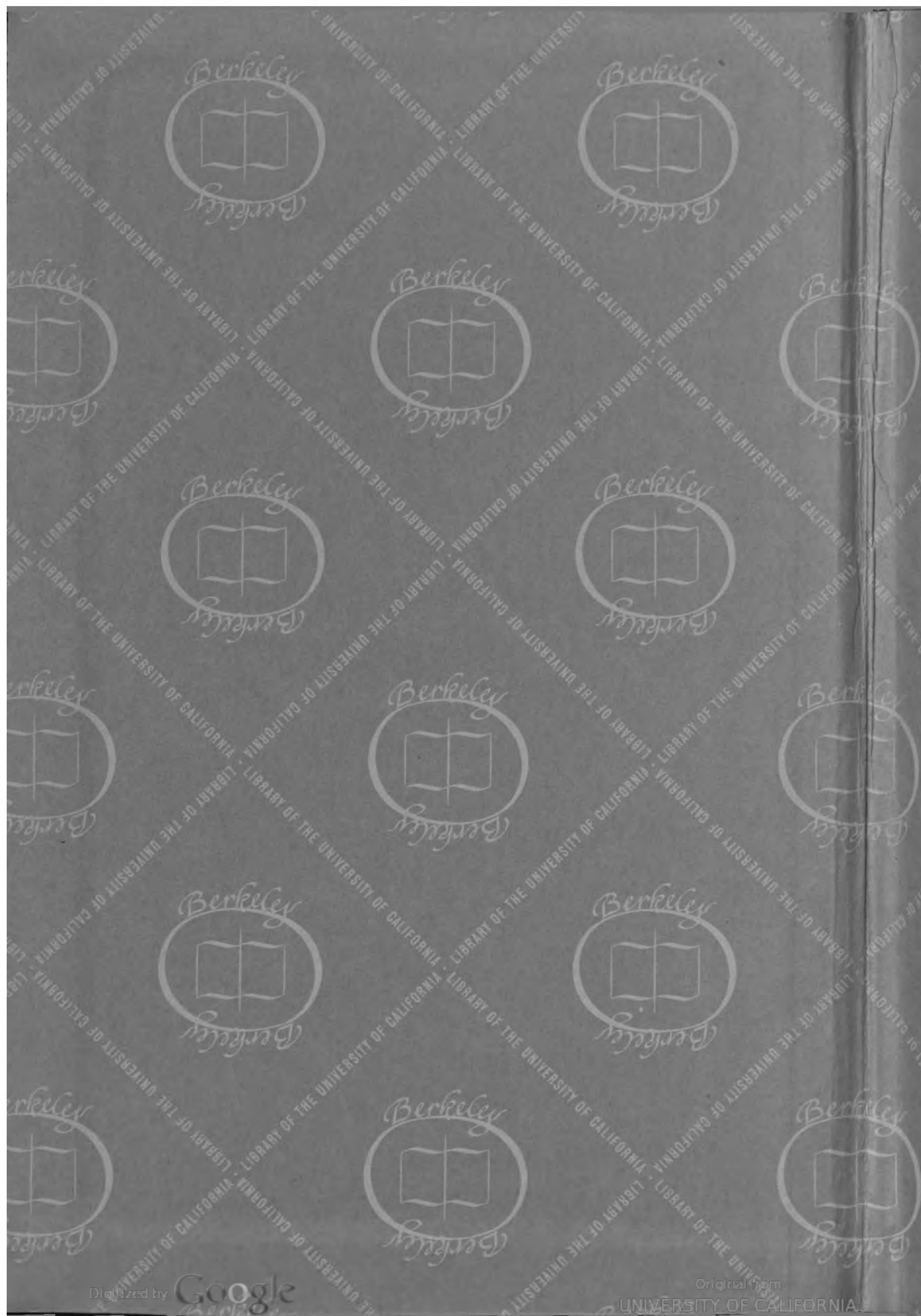
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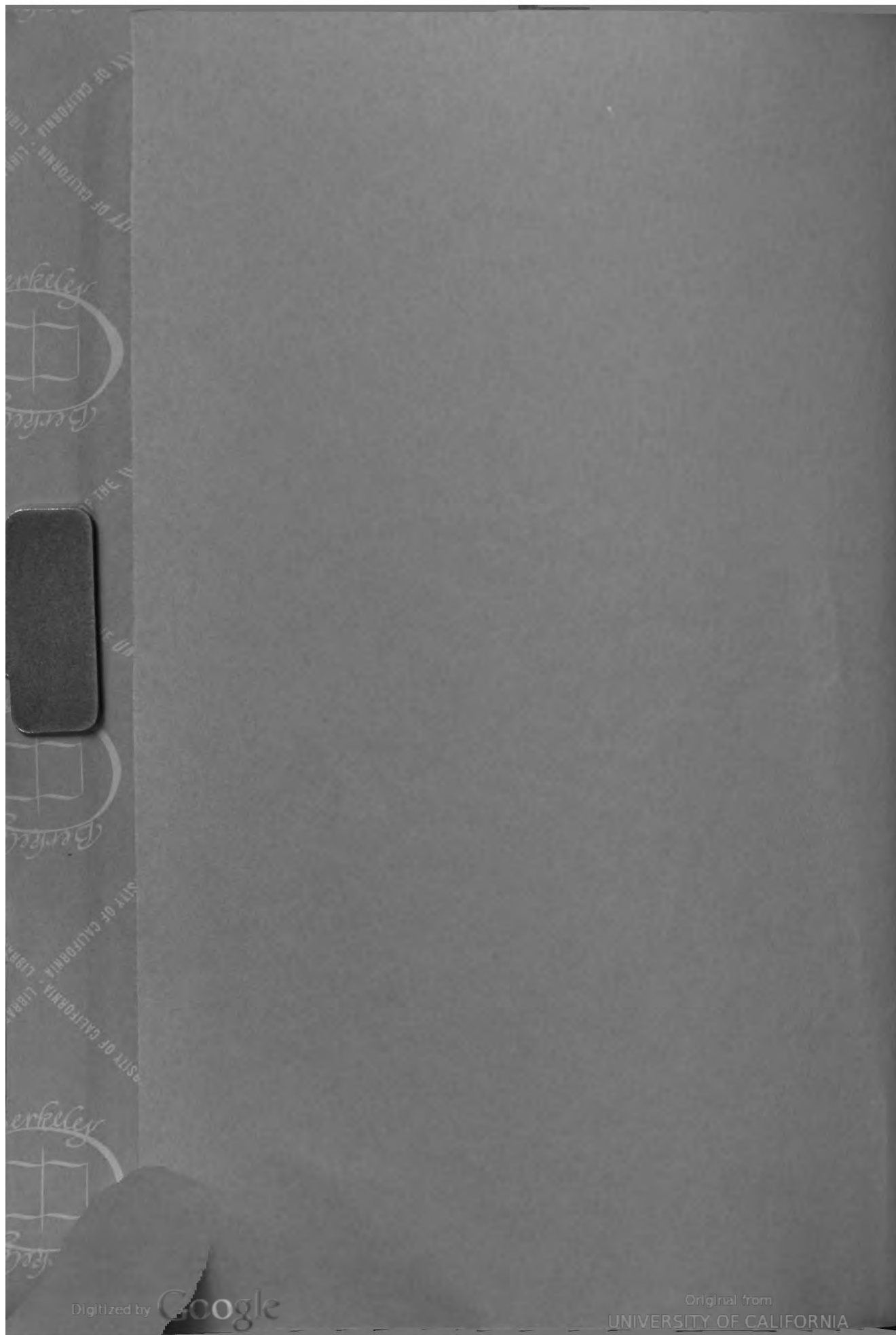
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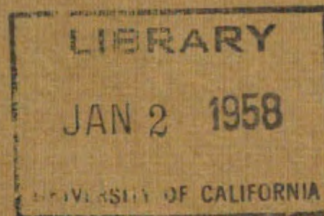






NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 139



# THE COINAGE OF THE TŪLŪNIDS

By OLEG GRABAR



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(black)

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A55

No. 139-141

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
NEW YORK

1957



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# The Coinage of the Ṭulūnids

By OLEG GRABAR



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
NEW YORK

1957

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## FOREWORD

In the first half of the ninth century the Muslim empire of the 'Abbāsids was both politically and culturally at the pinnacle of its power and creativity. With the exception of the far west the whole area conquered in the seventh and eighth centuries was controlled by the caliphs in Iraq, while the artistic activity of Samarra together with the religious and philosophical ferment in Baghdad and elsewhere testify to the profound spiritual vitality of the time. The second half of the century witnessed, on the other hand, a definite decadence in the political structure of the empire, which paved the way for the collapse of caliphal authority a century later. One of the signs of this decadence was the appearance in various parts of the empire of local dynasties which usurped to a greater or lesser degree the sovereignty of the caliphs. Among these dynasties one of the best known was that of the Ṭulūnids of Egypt (868–905) which brought to Egypt a prosperity which the land of the Nile had not known for several centuries and which prepared the way for the brilliant later civilizations of the Fāṭimids and the Mamlūks. Among the many signs of the bounty of the time was the coinage established by the founder of the dynasty, which, according to mediaeval chroniclers, acquired an almost proverbial value. It is to this coinage and to the historical conclusions which can be drawn from it that this study is devoted.

My thanks are due to T. V. Buttrey, Jr., in charge of the Yale University Collection, and to Dr. H. W. Glidden for permission to publish coins in their collections and for providing me with photographs; to the American Numismatic Society for awarding me a fellowship during the summer of



1951 and for putting at my disposal the facilities of their library and collection; to the Department of Near Eastern Studies at the University of Michigan for allowing me to go to New York and complete this study; to Dr. John Walker for information about a coin in the British Museum; to Dr. A. S. Ehrenkreutz for reading my manuscript and making suggestions; and especially to Dr. G. C. Miles for constant help.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- ANS: American Numismatic Society.
- Becker: C. H. Becker, "Die Stellung der Ṭulūniden," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg, 1902-3.
- B.M.: S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1875-1889.
- Casanova: P. Casanova, *Inventaire sommaire de la collection . . . . de S.A. la Princesse Ismail*, Paris, 1896.
- Constantinople: I. Ghalib, *Meskūkrāt qadīmah Islāmiyah Qatālōghī*, vol. II, Constantinople, 1312/1894.
- Hassan: Zaky M. Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, Paris, 1933.
- ibn al-Athīr: ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo ed., 1353 A.H.
- Ibn Saʿīd: ibn Saʿīd, *Fragmente aus dem Mughrib*, ed. K. Vollers in *Semitische Studien*, I, Berlin, 1894.
- Jerusalem, *Flagellation*: P. Lemaire, "Muhammedan Coins in the Convent of the Flagellation, Jerusalem," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th series, vol. XVIII, 1938.
- Johnston, N.C.: J. M. C. Johnston, "Mohammedan Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, vol. XIX, 1899.
- Khedivial*: S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of . . . . Arabic Coins in the Khedivial Library*, London, 1897.
- al-Kindi: al-Kindi, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Rh. Guest, London, 1912.
- Lane-Poole, Johnston: S. Lane-Poole, "Mr. J. M. C. Johnston's Cabinet," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, vol. XII, 1892.
- Maqrīzi: Maqrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ*, Cairo, 1270 A.H.; also G. Wiet's ed. in *MIFAO*, especially vols. XXX (1911) and LIII (1927).
- Markoff: A. K. Markoff, *Inventarnyi Katalog Musulmanskih Monet*, St. Petersburg, 1896.
- MCIA: *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*.

- MIFAO*: *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire*.
- Miles, *Tarsus*: G. C. Miles, "Islamic coins from the Tarsus Excavations of 1935-37," *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman* (New York, 1956), pp. 297-312.
- Paris: H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1887-96.
- N.Z.*: *Numismatische Zeitschrift*.
- Porter, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1921: H. Porter, "Unpublished Coins of the Caliphate," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th series, vol. III (1921).
- Répertoire*: E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, G. Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, Cairo, 1931 and ff.
- RIC*: G. C. Miles, *Rare Islamic Coins*, New York, 1950.
- R.N.*, 1935: R. Cotteville-Giraudet, "La Collection Decourdemanche II," *Revue Numismatique*, 4ème série, vol. XXXVIII, 1935.
- RNB*: *Revue de Numismatique Belge*.
- Rogers: E. T. Rogers, *The Coins of the Ṭūlūni Dynasty*, in *The International Numismata Orientalia*, part IV, London, 1877.
- Soret, *RNB*, 1854 and 1856: F. Soret, "Lettre à M. Lelewel," *RNB*, 2ème série, vol. IV, 1854; "Lettre à M. le Conseiller d'Etat de Dorn," *ibid.*, 1856.
- Sumer* III: N. Nakshabandi, "al-Dīnār al-Islāmi," *Sumer*, III (1947).
- Ṭabari: al-Ṭabari, *Annales*, ed. M. de Goeje and others, Leyden, 1879-1901.
- Taghribirdi: abū al-Mahāsin Yūsuf ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, Cairo, 1929.
- Tiesenhausen: W. Tiesenhausen, *Monety Vostochnago Khalifata*, St. Petersburg, 1873.
- UM: University Museum, Philadelphia.
- Zambaur: E. de Zambaur, "Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, vols. XXXVI and XXXVII, 1904 and 1905.
- Z. für N.*: *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*.

## THE COINAGE OF THE ṬULŪNIDS

Some years ago the coin collection of Yacoub Artin Pasha, acquired by Robert C. H. Brock and presented by him to the University Museum in Philadelphia (hereafter U.M.), was transferred on indefinite loan to the American Numismatic Society. Dr. G. C. Miles has already devoted a monograph to Fāṭimid coinage and an article to Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd dinars,<sup>1</sup> both of which were based in large part on the University Museum collection. Furthermore he has included some of the more outstanding specimens in his *Rare Islamic Coins*.<sup>2</sup>

This study of the coins of the Ṭulūnid dynasty in Egypt was similarly originally based on the collection of the University Museum (35 coins, all gold), to which were added the 18 specimens of the American Numismatic Society. There is, although it is now almost eighty years old, a corpus of Ṭulūnid coins made by E. T. Rogers in 1877, which included at least 15 coins which were to become part of the Pennsylvania collection.<sup>3</sup> Rogers knew of 125 coins which he attributed to the Ṭulūnids, and divided them into 58 types, a type being defined on the basis of mint, date, and other characteristics. A thorough search through publications since Rogers' time has led me to count almost 600 Ṭulūnid coins known in all, falling into 97 types based on differences in metal, date, mint, and inscription.<sup>4</sup> There is

<sup>1</sup> G. C. Miles, *Fāṭimid Coins* (New York, 1951), and "Some Early Arab Dinars," *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, III (1948).

<sup>2</sup> G. C. Miles, *Rare Islamic Coins* (New York, 1950); hereafter *RIC*.

<sup>3</sup> E. T. Rogers, *The Coins of the Ṭulūni Dynasty*, in *The International Numismata Orientalia*, Part IV (London, 1877).

<sup>4</sup> This result would not have been possible without the remarkably careful bibliographical notations kept by Dr. Miles, whom I want to thank

then some justification in assuming that a new publication of existing Ṭulūnid coins is not out of place, since it will bring together documents which are only too often scattered in dozens of periodicals. Moreover, Rogers' publication is purely analytical, giving only bare epigraphical and metrologic information. In fact one of the essential aims of numismatic studies is to provide the historian with documents which must be correlated with other sources. In Roman and Byzantine history, the works of A. Alföldi, C. H. V. Sutherland, M. Grant, and many others, and in Islamic history, the older works of Max van Berchem and recent studies by G. C. Miles, J. Walker, and others, have shown the extraordinary wealth of numismatic evidence for the understanding of civilization and history. In the specific case of the Ṭulūnids a number of problems of great significance for the history of the 'Abbāsid caliphate are posed and the coinage may perhaps be used to solve some of them.

The first part of this study will be devoted to a catalogue of the coins known to me which can be assigned without doubt to the Ṭulūnids; that is, those coins bearing the name of a member of the Ṭulūnid family.<sup>1</sup> Only different types of coins will be described, but in each case the number of known coins will be indicated. They can all be found in the appended bibliography. The metrologic information (weight in grams, diameter in millimeters) has been, whenever possible, based

for the free use of his cards. It must also be added that most of these coins belong to European and American collections. Near Eastern collections are still too little known, but publications—even incomplete ones—such as that of the Khiḍr Ilyās treasure (N. al-Naqshabandi, "Kanz Khiḍr Ilyās," *Sumer*, X (1954), pp. 180ff.) show that a great number of numismatic documents are still untouched in the private and public collections throughout the Near East.

<sup>1</sup> On the problem of defining a coin as belonging to this or that dynasty, see the remarks of G. C. Miles, in *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (New York, 1938), p. 110.

on the coins of the ANS and of the University Museum in Philadelphia. Otherwise it has been copied from whatever publication has first dealt with a coin. Only one set of metrologic characteristics is given whenever all coins whose weight and diameter are known are quite similar to each other in this respect. Any variation which may be of interest to the economic or political historian has been included, wherever it occurs. Since, on the whole, Ṭulūnid coins follow the pattern of the classical 'Abbāsīd type in appearance and in epigraphy, full description will be given only once. It is assumed that, unless specifically noted, each coin follows the pattern of the one preceding it. Whenever possible, a bibliographical reference has been given for each coin in one of the two standard and most complete catalogues (British Museum, Paris).<sup>1</sup> Unpublished or rare issues are marked with an asterisk(\*), illustrated specimens with a dagger(†).

The second part will include discussions of a series of problems posed either by the coinage itself or by the history of the dynasty, for which coins may provide an answer. A detailed history of the Ṭulūnid dynasty has not been included, since it is easily available in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*,<sup>2</sup> in G. Wiet's contribution to Hanotaux' *Histoire de la Nation Egyptienne*, and especially in Zaky Hassan's *Les Tulunides* and Carl Becker's superb evaluation of Egypt in Ṭulūnid times in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*.<sup>3</sup> Most

<sup>1</sup> S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, 10 vols. (London, 1875-1889); H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale: III Egypte et Syrie* (Paris, 1896). These two catalogues will be abbreviated as *B. M.*, and *Paris* respectively.

<sup>2</sup> See also Zaky Hassan's article "Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn," in the new edition of the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

<sup>3</sup> G. Wiet, *L'Égypte Arabe*, vol. IV of G. Hanotaux' *Histoire de la Nation Egyptienne* (Paris, 1937); Zaky M. Hassan, *Les Tulunides* (Paris, 1933); C. H. Becker, "Die Stellung der Tuluniden," *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam* (Strassburg, 1902-3). Among the sources I have

of these studies have in fact used numismatic evidence, especially for establishing dates. But the historical problem of the Ṭūlūnids is a much wider one.

It is often said that Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn became virtually independent, and his status is compared to that of the Ṭāhirids in Persia or to that of the Aghlabids in Ifrīqiyah.<sup>1</sup> But it may be questioned whether the notion of independence is not in many ways ambiguous when applied in contemporary terms to what has been recently called "the Muslim City."<sup>2</sup>

The intrinsic theoretical unity of the Muslim world, *dār al-Islām*, has often been emphasized.<sup>3</sup> But it is equally well known that, in practice, the middle of the third century A. H. saw the first breaking up of the physical unity of the Muslim empire. Together with it, or somewhat later, there appeared also, at the head of the "politico-religious unity" characteristic of Islam,<sup>4</sup> a breakdown of the unity of command with the multiplication of *amīrs* and later, *sultāns*, who first in fact and then also in right shared with the Commander of the Faithful the leadership, actually even the sovereignty, of the Islamic community. Islam underwent a practical breakup of its theoretical structure both in the center of the caliphate and in the provinces which made up the empire.<sup>5</sup> A study of the Ṭūlūnids can only concern itself with the latter phenomenon, but the Egyptian dynasty is

been unable to consult al-Balawi, *Sīrah Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*, ed. M. Kurd 'Alī (Damascus, 1358 A. H.).

<sup>1</sup> Wiet, p. 86; Becker, p. 150, where it is suggested that the similarity was not only one of situation, but also one of the means used to achieve the same results.

<sup>2</sup> L. Gardet, *La Cité Musulmane* (Paris, 1954).

<sup>3</sup> Gardet, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> On all these problems the latest study is that of E. Tyan, *Institutions du Droit Public Musulman: I Le Califat* (Paris, 1954), especially pp. 513 ff.



particularly important in this process of disintegration. Its early date is significant in the sense that it was the first true dynasty to develop within the Arab core of the Islamic empire and that, therefore, it created a precedent for all later developments. Furthermore, the personalities of the men who were involved in the Ṭūlūnid adventure (especially Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn and al-Muwaffaq) were such that through them one can get a glimpse of the ideology and of the motivations which led them to do and to say what they did and said.

The problem is not so much one of establishing facts as of determining in what ways the political *morcellement* of the empire was reconciled in men's minds with the theoretical unity of Islam. In other words, how did the Ṭūlūnids (or any other third century A. H. dynasty) explain their own position in regard to the caliphate? The problem is not academic, for it is only through a study of each individual dynasty of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries that one can properly understand the later formalization of a new Muslim concept of sovereignty and of a new political and social situation after the arrival of the Seljuqs, when mediaeval Islam was transformed.<sup>1</sup> For the early period we do not possess a systematic treatise such as that of al-Māwardī or an analysis of the contemporary situation such as al-Ghazzālī's. Nor are the individual stories found among chroniclers always sufficient to suggest a clear picture of the situation.<sup>2</sup> The epigraphical material, however, spotty as it may be, and in particular coins, whose date and minting place are generally known, can be of great interest. On the one hand, this material, in most cases, is rigorously contemporary with the event with which it was connected; and, on the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for instance, H. A. R. Gibb, "An Interpretation of Islamic History II," *The Muslim World*, XLV (1955), pp. 124 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This difficulty has already been pointed out by Tyan, pp. X-XI.

it is not a mere recording, but a definite expression of power and sovereignty.<sup>1</sup> This study will attempt to determine, on the basis of coinage, inscriptions, and texts, the nature of the Ṭulūnids' power in Egypt in relation to the caliphate and in what ways their power was similar to or dissimilar from the contemporary sovereignty of Aghlabid and Ṭāhirid princes.<sup>2</sup> Such an analysis is particularly justified in the case of the Ṭulūnids, since, as will be shown, Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn for one was very careful throughout his life to have his acts sanctioned by religious authorities.<sup>3</sup> It will be attempted to show that this was not a purely formal habit and that the life and utterances of ibn Ṭulūn indicate a high degree of religious consciousness in all of his activities. But, even

<sup>1</sup> On coinage as a prerogative of the prince see, among others, Tyan, pp. 480ff; on inscriptions remarks are scattered throughout the numerous books and articles of Max van Berchem, in particular in his volumes of the *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*.

<sup>2</sup> One should note that coinage or, in a more general way epigraphy, is not the only non-literary source which can be used to clarify the political and ideological relationship of various dynasties to the caliphate. Others are, for instance, clothes and arms. These are comparatively well known and accessible as far as the Mameluk period is concerned, after the studies of L. A. Mayer and D. S. Rice. But, so far as the earlier period is concerned, only a very careful combing of the sources could lead to the establishment of a consistent order among the numerous "robes of honor." Cf. some preliminary remarks in Tyan, pp. 488ff., especially p. 496, where, of course, only caliphal dresses and *insignia* are mentioned. The essential point is that, when the literary sources are few or unreliable, and even when they are abundant, the mediaeval Islamic world has left us an enormous body of material which, following Sauvaget, one may call "archaeological," and which supplements, when it does not actually supersede many a literary document. Cf. J. Sauvaget, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Orient Musulman* (Paris, 1946), pp. 48ff.

<sup>3</sup> For example ibn Sa'id, *Fragmente aus dem Mughrib*, ed. K. Vollers in *Semitische Studien*, I (Berlin, 1894), pp. 69-70; al-Kindi, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Rh. Guest (London, 1912), p. 226. Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, p. 82, notices this tendency in ibn Ṭulūn to look for a religious justification of his acts, but he does not explain it entirely.

without this indication, it could be argued that his acts and decisions had in some way or other to be adapted to the politico-religious thinking of the time. Even if they were not always in accord with the *general* consensus of theological opinion, they must have been agreeable to a certain *fraction* of the religious community and, therefore, must have reflected a definite religious and ideological trend of the time. Thus, insofar as it is based on official epigraphical material, this study will not concern itself primarily with the political, economic, social, or military aspects of Ṭūlūnid history, which have been well analyzed by C. Becker, G. Wiet, Z. Hassan, and others (unless the coinage can lead us to new conclusions), but with the ideological or theoretical frame within which this history took place.

This evaluation of Ṭūlūnid coinage as a political and historical document falls under two headings: the coinage of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn and the coinage of Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad. In the case of the latter, only the coinage of the first few years of his rule is of any significance. Late Ṭūlūnid coinage is of little interest and serves only as a useful contemporary milestone for dates which are otherwise clearly established through texts.

## PART I:

NO.	METAL	DATE	MINT	DIAMETER	WEIGHT	NO. OF SPEC.
I	Æ	258	Miṣr			3
†2	Æ	25[9?]	Miṣr	19	2.24	4
†3	A'	266	Miṣr	23.1	4.22	13
4	A'	267	Miṣr	22.1	4.12	20
5	Æ	267	Miṣr	24	2.45	2
6	A'	267	al-Rāfiqah	21	3.70	4
†*7	Æ	267	al-Rāfiqah	25	2.91	1
8	A'	268	Miṣr	23 24	4.21 4.15	14
*9	Æ	268	al-Rāfiqah			1

## CATALOGUE

REFERENCE	REMARKS
Rogers, nos. 1 and 2	<p><i>Obv.</i> لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> الله محمد رسول الله · ◊  ·</p> <p><i>Obv. margin:</i> ornament. <i>Rev. margin:</i> بسم الله ضرب هذا القدس بمصر سنة ثمان وخسين و مائتين</p> <p>For both 1 and 2 see commentary pp. 30ff.</p>
RIC, nos. 392-3	
ANS, UM	<i>Obv.</i> — — — <i>Rev.</i> — — —
Rogers, nos. 9-10	المعتمد على الله
B.M., II, no. 218	المفوض الى الله احمد بن طولون
	Usual margins: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4, and IX, 33; mint and date.
UM (2)	
B.M., II, no. 219	
Paris, III, no. 13	
Rogers, no. 17	
Rogers, no. 16	
Paris, III, no. 1	
Yale University	
ANS	
UM	
B.M., IX, no. 219b	
Jerusalem, Flagellation	No description given.

NO.	METAL	DATE	MINT	DIAMETER	WEIGHT	NO. OF SPEC.
10	A	268	al-Rāfiqah		3.30	1
11	A	268	al-Rāfiqah	23.2	3.81	5
†12	A	269	Miṣr	22.9	4.05	12
*13	A	269	Dimishq			1
†14	A	270	Miṣr	22	4.15	27
15	A	270	al-Rāfiqah		3.50	1
16	Æ	270	Dimishq	21	2.60	1
17	Æ	bef. 270				1
18	Æ	bef. 270				5

REFERENCE	REMARKS
Paris, III, no. 2	Note the low weight, below pp. 58-9.
Rogers, nos. 18-19	Rev. — — — احمد بن طولون لؤلؤ
UM	No لؤلؤ
Rogers, nos. 20-21	
B.M., II, no. 220	
American University of Beirut	I have not seen this coin. Infor- mation G. C. Miles.
ANS, UM	The weight of these coins varies between 4. and 4.25. See p. 68.
Rogers, nos. 22-24	
B.M., IX, no. 220b	
Rogers, no. 26 (Paris, III, no. 3)	Note the low weight.
Paris, III, no. 12	
Zambaur, <i>Contrib. I</i> , pp. 74ff.	No mint. No date. Rev. احمد بن طولون ١٥١١
Miles, <i>Tarsus</i> , p. 301.	Obv. — — — Rev. احمد بن المعتمد على الله طولون ١٥١١(?) On rev. traces of marginal legend including المؤمنين. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is little doubt that nos. 17 and 18 belong to the same series. They are separated here only because in detail there occur a few minor discrepancies between the Tarsus coins and the specimen published by Zambaur. Cf. below pp. 30ff.



NO.	METAL	DATE	MINT	DIAMETER	WEIGHT	NO. OF SPEC.
19	A	270	al-Rāfiqah		3.58	1
†20	A	271	Miṣr	22.1	4.13	12
21	A	272	Miṣr	21.5 21	4.12 4.13	19
*22	A	272	al-Rāfiqah		2.58	2
23	Æ	272	Dimishq	25	2.80	1
†24	A	273	Miṣr	21.9 22	4.06 4.20	27
25	A	273	al-Rāfiqah	22.8	4.10 3.38	7
26	A	274	Miṣr	22.9 22.9	4.17 3.94	19
†*27	A	274	al-Rāfiqah	23.5	3.96	2
28	A	274	Ḥimṣ		3.60	1

REFERENCE	REMARKS
Paris, III, no. 19	<i>Obv.</i> — — — <i>Rev.</i> — — — المفوض الى الله المعتمد على الله خارويه بن احمد
UM Rogers, no. 27	
UM ANS Rogers, nos. 30-31 <i>B.M.</i> , IX, no. 220t	
Markoff, <i>add.</i> , p. 928, no. 7c <i>R.N.</i> (1935), p. 34	Not described. Note the extraordinary weight.
Paris, III, no. 32	<i>Rev.</i> pellet.
UM ANS Rogers, nos. 35-37 <i>B.M.</i> , II, no. 221	Rogers, no. 35, weighs only 3.95.
Rogers, nos. 32-33 <i>B.M.</i> , II, no. 222 Paris, III, no. 20	All coins, except Rogers no. 32 ( <i>B.M.</i> , II, no. 222) and <i>Khedivial</i> , no. 910, whose weight is known, weigh around 3.50.
UM (2) Rogers, nos. 39-41 <i>B.M.</i> , IX, no. 222c	
ANS Rogers, no. 42 (Paris, III, no. 17)	The second coin ( <i>R.N.</i> , 1935, p. 35) weighs even less (3.62). Note weight.

NO.	METAL	DATE	MINT	DIAMETER	WEIGHT	NO. OF SPEC.
29	A'	275	Miṣr	22.8	3.95	7
30	A'	275	al-Rāfiqah		3.50	3
31	℞	275	Dimishq		2.90	1
32	A'	276	Miṣr	22.8	4.05	8
33	A'	276	al-Rāfiqah	20 25.3	3.82 3.36 3.12	4
34	℞	276	Dimishq	23.7	2.55	1
35	A'	276	Ḥarrān	25.4	4.16	2
36	A'	276	Anṭākiyah		4.10	1
37	A'	277	Miṣr	22.5 22.9	4.14 4.10	25
†*38	A'	277	al-Rāfiqah	19	4.60	1
39	A'	277	Dimishq	23	4.15	3

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NO.	METAL	DATE	MINT	DIAMETER	WEIGHT	NO. OF SPEC.
40	A'	277	Filastīn		3.20	2
*41	A'	277	Anṭākiyah			1
42	A'	278	Miṣr	22.5	4.10	21
43	A'	278	al-Rāfiqah	24	3.60	3
44	A'	278	al-Rāfiqah			2
†*45	A'	278	al-Rāfiqah	23	3.70	1
*46	A'	278	Ḥimṣ			1
47	A'	278	Filastīn		4.20	4
48	A'	278	Anṭākiyah	25.1	3.54	1
†*49	A'	278	Anṭākiyah	23	3.21	1
50	Æ	2xx	Dimishq	25.1	2.82	1

REFERENCE	REMARKS
Paris, III, no. 23	Note weight.
Private collection (Casablanca)	Communication G. C. Miles.
UM	
B.M., IX, no. 224c	
Rogers, nos. 57-8	
Rogers, nos. 59-60	
Rogers, no. 61	Rev. — — — ع
ANS	Floral tail to the <i>nūn</i> of <i>bn</i> .
Constantinople, II, no. 798	No marks.
Paris, III, no. 24	
Rogers, no. 62	Obv.: ornamental tails on و and ی of المفوض الى الله; pellet between them. Rev.: to the side of area: الملك
ANS	Obv.: normal inscription, but different style of epi- graphy. Rev.: — — — س
Rogers, no. 63	Since the reverse bears the name of al-Mu'tamid and the obverse that of al-Mufawwad, this coin could not be later than the beginning of 279.

NO.	METAL	DATE	MINT	DIAMETER	WEIGHT	NO. OF SPEC.
*51	Æ					1
†*52	A'	279	Miṣr	22.3 22	4.25 4.25	2
53	A'	279	Anṭākiyah		4.35	1
54	A'	279	Dimishq	21.8	4.14	1
55	A'	279	Miṣr		4.10	14 <sup>1</sup>
56	A'	279	al-Rāfiqah			1
†*57	A'	279	Ḥalab	19	3.25	1
58	A'	279	Anṭākiyah		4.30 3.83	2
59	Æ	279				31

<sup>1</sup> Are included here 8 coins from the Khidr Iliyās treasure, some of which could conceivably belong to type 52.

REFERENCE	REMARKS
Soret, <i>RNB</i> (1854), p. 18	<i>Obv.</i> — — — <i>Rev.</i> — — — المعتد على الله احمد بن خارويه يعقوب Cf. below p. 77
UM ANS	<i>Obv.</i> — — — <i>Rev.</i> — — — المعتد بالله المعتد على الله خارويه بن احمد
Paris, III, no. 16	Note weight.
Iraq Museum, no. 3878 ( <i>Sumer</i> , III, p. 277).	
Rogers, nos. 64–65 Paris, III, no. 31	<i>Obv.:</i> — — — <i>Rev.:</i> — — — No name. المعتد بالله خارويه بن احمد
Rogers, no. 66	This coin was published by Soret ( <i>RNB</i> , 1856, p. 132) as having on the obverse خارويه and on the reverse المعتد بالله. Rogers corrected it to fit with the common type 55.
H. W. Glidden coll.	
Rogers, nos. 67–68	Cf. 53. Rogers, no. 67 is supposed to be in Paris, but does not agree with Paris, III, no. 16.
Miles, <i>Tarsus</i> , p. 302 ANS	<i>Obv.</i> <i>Rev.</i> لا اله الا ما امر به الله محمد الامير محمد رسول الله بن موسى فرد Cf. below p. 33.



NO.	METAL	DATE	MINT	DIAMETER	WEIGHT	NO. OF SPEC.
60	A'	280	Miṣr		3.80	I
61	A'	280	Miṣr		4.20	I
†62	A'	280	Miṣr	22.9	4.09	8
63	A'	281	Miṣr	21.9	4.02	10
64	A'	281	Dimishq		4.40	I
65	A'	281	Filastīn			I
66	A'	281	Ḥalab	21.9	4.12	4
67	A'	282	Miṣr	22	4.08	15
68	Æ	282	Miṣr		3.	2
†*69	A'	282	Filastīn	20	4.03	I
†70	A'	283	Miṣr	22.7	4.22	21

REFERENCE	REMARKS
Paris, III, no. 32	<i>Obv.</i> — — — <i>Rev.</i> — — — pellet                      ح
Rogers, no. 69	<i>Obv.</i> — — — <i>Rev.</i> : no sign. pellet
UM Rogers, nos. 70-72 <i>B.M.</i> , IX, no. 224h	<i>Obv.</i> — — — <i>Rev.</i> — — — pellet                      ح
UM Rogers, nos. 73-75 <i>B.M.</i> , IX, no. 224k	Pierced.
Paris, III, no. 18	
<i>Z. für N.</i> , XI, p. 64	Not described.
Rogers, no. 76	<i>Obv.</i> : no pellet. <i>Rev.</i> — — — ط
UM Rogers, nos. 77-78 <i>B.M.</i> , II, no. 225	Like 62. Note that the mint in Rogers no. 78 is not certain. Cf. Tiesenhausen in <i>RNB</i> , vol. XXXI, p. 360.
Rogers, no. 79 Paris, III, no. 36	No pellet, no. ح.
ANS	
UM Rogers, nos. 80-85 <i>B.M.</i> , II, no. 226	<i>Rev.</i> — — — جيش بن خا رويه ح Note that one coin, <i>Khedivial</i> , no. 924, has the very low weight of 3.18.

NO.	METAL	DATE	MINT	DIAMETER	WEIGHT	NO. OF SPEC.
71	A	283	Miṣr	20	3.90 3.83	3
†72	A	284	Miṣr	22.2 22.8	4.10 4.09	12
73	A	284	Dimishq			2
74	A	285	Miṣr	21 22.1	3.65 4.16	18
†*75	A	285	Ḥimṣ	21.8	4.07	2
76	A	285	Filastīn	22	4.29	4
77	A	285	Ḥalab	22.6	3.97	1
78	A	286	Miṣr	21	3.73	7
79	A	286	Miṣr		4.	1
†80	A	287	Miṣr	21.9 21.9 21.9	4.10 4.14 4.	4

REFERENCE	REMARKS
Rogers, no. 86 <i>Khedivial</i> , no. 925	<i>Rev.</i> — — — هرون بن خاويه ح Note the comparatively low weight of these Miṣr coins. No pellet, no ح.
UM ANS Rogers, nos. 87-91 <i>B.M.</i> , II, no. 227	
<i>B.M.</i> , IX, no. 227b	No weight given. Four rings.
UM ANS Rogers, nos. 92-95 Paris, III, no. 40	No rings. As 72. The ANS weight is exceptional. All other weights known to me are below 3.80.
ANS	
UM Rogers, no. 96-97 <i>B.M.</i> , II, no. 228	The coin from the Rogers collection weighs only 3.75.
Rogers, no. 97	
UM <i>B.M.</i> , IX, no. 228c	Ringed.
Rogers, no. 98 (Paris, III, no. 41)	<i>Rev.</i> — — — ح
UM UM ANS Rogers, no. 102	Nothing below area on rev. or obv.

NO.	METAL	DATE	MINT	DIAMETER	WEIGHT	NO. OF SPEC.
†81	A	287	Miṣr	22	4.14	25 <sup>1</sup>
82	A	287	Dimishq			2
*83	A	287	Filastīn			1
84	A	288	Miṣr	21 21	3.96 4.15	23
85	A	289	Miṣr	23.4	4.08	1
86	A	289	Miṣr		4.15	1
87	A	289	Miṣr	22 22.3	4.04 4.	20 <sup>2</sup>
88	A	289	Miṣr			1
†*89	A	28x	Ḥalab	21.1	4.03	1

<sup>1</sup> Undescribed coins have been included here, although a number could presumably belong to the preceding type.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these coins, which are not described, could equally well belong to any of the four 289 types.

REFERENCE	REMARKS
UM Rogers, nos. 99-101 (Paris, III, no. 92)	<i>Obv.</i> — — — <i>Rev.</i> — — — —                         —
Johnston, N.C., p. 266	Like 73.
Markoff, p. 928, no. 13b	No description given.
UM ANS Rogers, nos. 103-7 <i>B.M.</i> , II, no. 229	Like 81.
<i>B.M.</i> , IX, no. 229c	— on obverse only.
Paris, III, no. 45	<i>Rev.</i> — — — المكتفي بالله هرون بن خارويه No — on obverse.
UM UM Rogers, nos. 108-11 Paris, III, no. 44	Like preceding, but with — on both sides.
Rogers, no. 112	<i>Rev.</i> — — — م
UM	Bears the name of Harūn. No signs.

NO.	METAL	DATE	MINT	DIAMETER	WEIGHT	NO. OF SPEC.
†90	A'	290	Miṣr	21.9	4.02	12
91	A'	290	Miṣr	22		1
92	A'	290	Dimishq			2
93	A'	290	Filastīn	22.5	3.43	1
†94	A'	291	Miṣr	21.9	3.82	23
95	Æ	291	Miṣr			1
†*96	A'	291	Filastīn	22	3.63	2
97	A'	292	Miṣr	23.4	3.88	1

REFERENCE	REMARKS
UM Rogers, nos. 114-17 B.M., IX, no. 229e	Like 87.
Constantinople, no. 799	— on obv. only.
Zambaur, <i>Contrib. I</i> , no. 71	No signs.
Rogers, no. 113 <i>Khedivial</i> , no. 933	Note low weight.
UM Rogers, nos. 118-23 B.M., II, no. 230	Obv. — — — 4 No sign on rev. The UM coin is lower in weight than most of the other coins whose weight is known (4.10-4.20).
Lane-Poole, Johnston, p. 57 UM	No description given. Pierced. Note that there are already 'Abbāsīd coins struck in Filasṭīn in 291 (Zambaur in <i>N.Z.</i> , 1922, p. 9). Note also the weight.
B.M., IX, no. 230c	Like 94. Note that there are already 'Abbāsīd coins struck in Miṣr in 292 (Rogers, nos. 124-5). The B.M. coin belongs to what must have been the last Ṭulūnid issue.



## PART II: COMMENTARY

### 1. *Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn and early Ṭulūnid coinage*

According to the mediaeval chroniclers, Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn, after some thirty-five years spent either as a student at Tarsus or as an officer in Samarra—where his life was largely devoid of the usual more or less criminal intrigues which characterized the ‘Abbāsīd court after the death of al-Mutawakkil—was given his first appointment in Egypt in 254 A.H./868 A.D. Al-Ṭabari simply says that in that year Bayākbāk, or Bākbāk, the apanagist of Egypt and Aḥmad’s stepfather, “entrusted (*‘aqada*) Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn with the governorship of Miṣr.”<sup>1</sup> Maqrīzi and ibn Sa‘īd, who repeat the contemporary account of ibn al-Dāyah and whose reliability as far as Egypt under ibn Ṭulūn is concerned is greater than al-Ṭabari’s, are more specific. According to them, Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn was appointed as the agent of Bayākbāk in Egypt (*fī khilāfatihī ‘ala Miṣr*) and in fact his appointment was only over the main part of the province, *al-qasbah*, to the exclusion of the regions which depended from it, such as Alexandria, etc.<sup>2</sup> For sixteen years thereafter, until his death in 270 A.H./884 A.D., Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn remained in Egypt. But the nature of his power there did not remain the same throughout these years.

<sup>1</sup> Ṭabari, *Annales*, ed. M. de Goeje and others (Leyden, 1879-1901), III, 1697.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd, p. 7. Maqrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ* (Cairo, 1270 A.H.), I, 314; in G. Wiet’s edition, in *Mémoires de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale*, vol. 53 (Cairo, 1927), pp. 144ff.; translation by P. Casanova, in *MIFAO*, vol. II (Cairo, 1906), p. 208. On the exact meaning of the word *qasbah*, cf. Becker, p. 160, “nicht die Hauptstadt, sondern das Hauptland im Gegensatz zu den See- und Grenzprovinzen.” On the whole system of lieutenants in the provinces cf. Maqrīzi, Wiet ed., pp. 145-6.

The second stage in Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn's rule over Egypt began in 257 A.H., when Yārjūkh, the new apanagist of Egypt and Aḥmad's father-in-law, gave him control over Alexandria and Barqah.<sup>1</sup> But the major new event occurred in 258. In that year Aḥmad received control over the finances of Egypt, after the removal of his rival ibn al-Mudabbir, and also the governorship (*wilāyah*) of the Syrian marshes.<sup>2</sup> And ibn Sa'īd adds that the letter of appointment which was brought to ibn Ṭulūn by a personal servant, *khādim*, of the caliph al-Mu'tamid, was witnessed by two respected judges, one from Wāsiṭ, the other one from the marshes.<sup>3</sup> The fact itself and the station of the people involved would further enhance the suggestion made above that, in all his dealings with the caliphate, Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn was always careful to receive the approbation of the religious leaders of Islam.

In the same year, 258/871-2 Yārjūkh died and Ja'far ibn al-Mu'tamid, later called al-Mufawwaḍ ila Allāh, became

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, p. 11; al-Kindi, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, pp. 16-17; al-Kindi, p. 217. There is a curious discrepancy between al-Kindi's statement that Aḥmad had received the governorship of the marshes and ibn al-Dāyah's that it was only the financial control. Al-Kindi's statement appears more convincing, since it is followed by a relation of the difficulties found by ibn Ṭulūn in getting a representative in Tarsus, whose functions were to be political. It should also be noted that ibn al-Dāyah was more interested in anecdotes and that his facts (or is it ibn Sa'īd's relation of them?) are not always too precise; cf. Becker, p. 152. Whatever happened, whether Aḥmad's control was purely political or financial, or both, it is an odd assignment if one considers that he did not control Syria at the time. It can only be properly understood if one admits that the war against the infidels was one of the foremost aims in ibn Ṭulūn's mind, as is suggested by a number of sources, ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (Cairo, 1353 A.H.), VI, pp. 14-5 and ibn al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* (Cairo, 1929), III, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted in passing that the latter was Sāliḥ ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, the well-known son of the founder of the fourth major Sunni school of theology. Cf. a few words on him in H. Laoust, art. "Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal," in the new edition of the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

heir to the caliphate.<sup>1</sup> Some sources assert that it is soon after that, in 259, that Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn became independent, while others have even believed him to have been so as early as 258. But the literary evidence does not give any information to suggest any difference in Aḥmad's status between 258 and 259; and the two late texts (ibn Khaldūn and ibn Taghribirdi) which do speak of independence are contradicted either by earlier documents or by their own further accounts.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, 258 is the date which is usually taken to have witnessed the first appearance of Ṭūlūnid coinage. In 1854 and 1856 F. Soret published two copper coins, dated in 258, struck in Miṣr, and bearing in the lower part of the reverse the sign ۱۵۱۱, which was interpreted by Soret to mean Aḥmad.<sup>3</sup> The reading is, of course, unacceptable, but these two coins have been taken by Rogers as nos. 1 and 2 of his classification of Ṭūlūnid coins. In 1904, E. de Zambaur published a coin with the same sign at the bottom of the reverse, but without any trace of mint or date. Over the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the discussion in Hassan, pp. 51-2. Some sources claim that in that year Ja'far was made overlord of all the western provinces. Cf. below pp. 42 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar* (Cairo, 1284), IV, 298. See also ibn al-Athīr, V, p. 367 and Taghribirdi, III, p. 6, where ibn Ṭūlūn is made independent at the death of Bākbāk, which is contradicted by all the other sources and by Taghribirdi himself, who writes, p. 7, that ibn Ṭūlūn did not control the finances as yet. Rogers, p. 6, claims that, at the death of Yārjūkh, ibn Ṭūlūn became independent by succeeding to all of the latter's functions. This is not brought out by the sources.

<sup>3</sup> F. Soret, "Lettre à M. Lelewel . . .," *Revue de Numismatique Belge*, X (1854), p. 20; and "Lettre à M. le Conseiller d'Etat de Dorn," *ibid.*, XII (1856), p. 132. Pl. II, fig. 11 (a drawing), in the latter of these works, shows the name Aḥmad more clearly than on the other coin. I believe, however, that we are dealing with the very same motive and that the difference is due to the state of the coin or to a defective die. Cf. also Paris, III, no. 14, where the same mistake is repeated.

sign appears the name Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn, while on the obverse the first part of the profession of faith is followed by the name of the caliph al-Mu'tamid 'ala Allāh.<sup>1</sup> But the two Soret coins did not bear the name of the Commander of the Faithful. Zambaur assumed this sign to be a date, 262, but in a second article<sup>2</sup> he seems to have accepted Nützel's suggestion that it is a mere ornament. In 1950, George C. Miles published two similar coins bearing the probable date of 259,<sup>3</sup> while the collection of the American Numismatic Society contains a number of other coppers of the same type. Five specimens of a similar variety were discovered by the American excavators at Tarsus.<sup>4</sup> The question is whether these coins all belong to one group and whether they should all be considered as Ṭulūnid, bearing in mind that the problem is further complicated by the fact that, with an exception to be mentioned presently, no other copper coin is known until the rule of Khumārawayh, twelve years later.

A first point to be made is to compare the evidence of the *fals* with that of the other coins from Miṣr. Egyptian gold and silver issues are known for almost the whole period between 255 and 267.<sup>5</sup> All these issues, except one, are purely

<sup>1</sup> E. de Zambaur, "Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale I," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, XXXVI (1904), pp. 74ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale II," *ibid.*, XXXVII (1905), pp. 194-5.

<sup>3</sup> *RIC*, nos. 392-3.

<sup>4</sup> Miles, *Tarsus*, pp. 297ff.

<sup>5</sup> 255: *RIC*, no. 150; 256: no known coin; 257: *RIC*, nos. 152-3; 258: Paris, I, no. 1020 and *RIC*, nos. 154-5 (on these see below pp. 38-9); 259: Rogers, no. 4, *Khedivial*, no. 616, Markoff, p. 345, no. 1; 260: Rogers, nos. 5 and 6, *UM*, etc. . . .; 261: *Khedivial*, no. 619 (there is a problem connected with this coin, cf. below p. 32); 262: no known coin; 263: Rogers, no. 7 and 8, Markoff, p. 345, no. 2, *Khedivial*, no. 618; 264: Markoff, *add.*, p. 928, no. 2a, *Z. für N.* (A. Erman, "Die im Jahre 1882 . . . erworbene . . . Münzen," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XI, 1884), p. 64 (neither of these coins is described); 265: *RIC*, no. 291.

‘Abbāsīd, without any mention of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn. The 265 coin in the ANS, the only *dirhem* of the whole group, is of particular importance, since it suggests that the two undescribed ones of 264 were also purely ‘Abbāsīd. But, among these coins, one issue poses a problem and it is noteworthy that it is the 258 issue, i.e., the issue which is contemporary with the major group of problematic copper coins. Five of these coins are known to me: one in the Bibliothèque Nationale,<sup>1</sup> two in the University Museum collection,<sup>2</sup> one in the National Library (ex-Khedivial) in Cairo,<sup>3</sup> and one in a group of coins published by Rogers in 1875.<sup>4</sup> All these coins, the only ones known for Miṣr in 258 (with the exception discussed in note 3), have on the reverse, under the name of the caliph, at the place where one generally finds the name of the governor, a word (?) which so far has not been identified (PLATE III). But there is no doubt that it cannot be Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn. In other words for the year 258 (and perhaps 259 also as far as the copper coins are concerned) we deal with a body of gold and copper coins with a strange sign on the reverse and no obvious Ṭulūnid name.

The second remark which can be made is based on a comparatively recent archaeological discovery. Among the coins found by the Tarsus excavators, we meet not only with the

<sup>1</sup> Paris, I, no. 1020.

<sup>2</sup> *RIC*, nos. 154–5.

<sup>3</sup> *Khedivial*, no. 619. This is actually a problematic coin. The mint has been obliterated. The date 261 seems to be certain. It would be tempting to attribute this coin to Miṣr, since it is only on Egyptian coins that we meet with the odd signs described below. On the other hand, the numerous coins known between 258 and 261 do not possess the sign, and one might wonder why it suddenly reappeared. Properly speaking this coin does not belong to the group of 258 coins. It is simply mentioned here, because it may eventually be of use in finding the solution to the problem of this whole group of coins.

<sup>4</sup> E. T. Rogers, "Notice on the dinars of the Abbaside dynasty," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s., VII (1875), p. 283.

five previously mentioned coins with the name of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, but also with 27 specimens of a copper type which bears on the reverse the name of Muḥammad ibn Mūsā.<sup>1</sup> Similar coins were already known in Paris<sup>2</sup> and by Soret.<sup>3</sup> G. C. Miles has argued that Muḥammad ibn Mūsā was in fact a nephew of ibn Ṭūlūn, who, under Khumārawayh, governed Tarsus for a short time in 279/892–3,<sup>4</sup> and that this whole group of coins should be assigned to the *thughūr al-sha'miyah*, which, from 258, were under the theoretical control of the Ṭūlūnids. This argument is most plausible and the typological similarity of the Zambaur coin to this later group added to the facts that it is epigraphically notably different from the 258 coins and that a number of specimens of the same type were found at Tarsus would indeed suggest that all the coppers bearing the name of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn should then be connected with the *thughūr*. It is, of course, impossible to determine the date of these coins with any certainty. But since the dated Miṣr specimens do not bear any proper name, and in particular not the name of ibn Ṭūlūn, it is doubtful whether the Zambaur and Tarsus coins should be considered as contemporary with them. A date after 265, that is after Aḥmad's triumphal expedition through Syria, is perhaps more likely,<sup>5</sup> inasmuch as this date would correspond with the first issues of coins in Miṣr with the name of the Ṭūlūnid prince.

In other words the copper coins bearing the name of a Ṭūlūnid should be attributed to the Syrian marshes and are

<sup>1</sup> Miles, *Tarsus*, p. 302. In this catalogue, no. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, I, no. 1666.

<sup>3</sup> In *RNB*, 1854, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Hassan, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> There had been a Ṭūlūnid governor in Tarsus before 266, al-Kindi, p. 217, and, considering the shaky nature of Aḥmad's control over the *thughūr*, the name of the governor was more likely to have been used before 266 than ibn Ṭūlūn's.

probably to be dated after 265, while the coins struck in Miṣr in 258 and 259 do not have any Ṭulūnid name. The only point of contact between the two groups of coins is that on both the sign ❧❧ occurs and the question which arises is, of course, the origin of that sign. Chronologically the Egyptian samples should be considered as the first to have used this sign, but did the sign originate in Egypt? To my knowledge there is no similar decorative motive in Islamic coinage, either before or after the Ṭulūnid period. A heraldic sign or some symbol of Central Asian Turkish origin seems very unlikely for so early a period. But, if one considers that this type of copper coin was most common in the *thughūr* area, it may be suggested that the sign was an imitation of one of the marks of value, monograms, letters, or counter-marks on Byzantine coins.<sup>1</sup> Although such adaptations of non-Islamic, particularly Byzantine, types are well known at various times throughout Islamic numismatic history,<sup>2</sup> this explanation cannot be, for the time being, more than a simple suggestion. It may perhaps be strengthened somewhat by the fact that Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn spent many years in Tarsus, studying with the many learned men who were there and participating in the constant Holy War which was waged at the frontier.<sup>3</sup> It is because of this attachment

<sup>1</sup> W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1908), II, pp. 661-3 for a list of such marks; pls. XLV, 11-12, LI, 4-7 for marks of the ninth century, which could have been copied and simplified by the Muslims.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. especially the Umayyad period and later, the Urtuqid and Seljuq periods in Asia Minor. It may be noted that some of the coins found by the Tarsus expedition show as early as in the end of the third century A. H. features derived from local traditions, Miles, *Tarsus*, pp. 310-11.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb, ṣūrah al-arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vol. II (2nd ed., Leyden, 1939), pp. 183-4. Ibn al-Jawzi, *al-Muntazam* (Hayderabad, 1357), vol. V, part 2, pp. 71-74, also emphasizes that Aḥmad was interested in religious matters and that he went to Tarsus in order to fight the infidels.

to Tarsus and to the idea of the war against the Byzantines that he received the financial and political control of *thughūr* before acquiring Syria. In the little-known early *ghāzi* milieu of Tarsus, Byzantine objects and coins must have been quite common; and it is possible that attempts were made then to copy or transform Byzantine symbols, just as the latter certainly were taken over a few centuries later when the Danishmend and Ortoqid cultures developed in another area, but in the same relationship to the Christian civilization of Anatolia. It is quite possible that ibn Ṭulūn had seen some such Byzantine type, and then adapted it to Egyptian copper coins, since there is no reason to doubt his genuine concern for the *jihād* against the infidels, which he wanted to undertake as an *amīr* rather than as an individual soldier of fortune.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time it must be emphasized that, whether one considers the motive of the diamond and three bars as an imitation from Byzantium or as a mere decoration, the copper coinage on which it appears in no way reflects the position of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn *vis-à-vis* the caliphate. If it were not for the Zambaur and Tarsus coins which bear the sign and the name of the prince, there would not be any justification in considering the coins as Ṭulūnid. Even then, these copper coins, which can by analogy be associated with the *person* of ibn Ṭulūn, can in no way be taken as evidence of his office, much less so of his independence from the caliphate. In a strict sense, whatever power Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn may have acquired in 258, it was not considered by him, or by the caliphate, as a type of appointment which permitted him to add his own name to that of the caliph on the coinage of the province of which he was vice-governor and financial director. In that sense his position was definite-

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, VI, pp. 14-15. For more on the Holy War and ibn Ṭulūn, see below.



ly different and lower than that of the numerous governors who, before him, had put their names below the names of the caliph on the coins issued in their capitals.<sup>1</sup>

This still formally subservient position of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn is further confirmed by the fact that the known *ṭirāz* inscriptions from Egypt dated in 260, 262, and 263<sup>2</sup> do not mention the name of the then governor of Egypt. Yet the letter of appointment which was sent by al-Mu'tamid in 258 did mention *ṭirāz* together with finances, although the text is admittedly quite vague.<sup>3</sup> A third series of more or less contemporary documents is provided by a weight and a stamp recently published by M. Jungfleisch.<sup>4</sup> The stamp is dated 260 and mentions neither the name of the caliph nor of the Ṭulūnid. The weight is dated 259 and does bear the name of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn, called there *mawla amīr al-mu'minīn*.<sup>5</sup> The formula used on these two objects, as has been pointed out by M. Jungfleisch, is interesting in that it used the full expression *bism Allāh al-rahmān al-rahīm*, which is only known on two objects from the times of al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil and which had been abandoned by ibn Ṭulūn's immediate predecessors. These two objects seem to confirm the evidence of the coins: in 259 we meet with the name of the Ṭulūnid on an official object, just as he is indirectly suggested on the copper coins, but, in both

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for instance, *B.M.*, I, index of names and *passim*. There is a basic difference between the coins which bear the name of a governor after *mimmā amara* and those which have merely a name under the mention of the caliph. In the first case we are dealing with the expression of a direct executive order or of an official prerogative. The second type reflects rather the actual importance of the governor of a certain province, without necessarily implying the same specific prerogative of striking coins.

<sup>2</sup> *Répertoire*, II, nos. 646, 656, 667.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> M. Jungfleisch, "Un poids et une estampille en verre," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXX (1949), pp. 4ff.

<sup>5</sup> On this formula see below p. 39 note 5.

cases, we are dealing with a practice which was common to many governors who have never been suspected of trying to become independent. One may call this "routine" procedure, except for the fact that the usage of a less typical formula on glass (a formula, it may be noted, which is characterized by the completeness of its divine invocation) and of a mysterious sign on coinage does indeed suggest that we are dealing with a rather extraordinary man. At the same time, the glass inscription, like the gold coins between 259 and 265 and the *ṭirāz* formulas which belong to the usual 'Abbāsīd type, does not mention the name of the governor.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, in dealing with this group of Egyptian documents between the years 254 and 265, we are led to the conclusion that there is only one piece of evidence which definitely and unequivocally mentions the name of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn: the 259 weight. The coincidence of a curious sign on a group of coins of 258 and 259 with the appointment, known through texts, of ibn Ṭūlūn to the control of the finances and of the administration of Egypt and its similarity to the sign on a coin from a different area suggests, without proving, that the copper coins could be considered as Ṭūlūnid. But in none of these cases do we meet with any indication that the *de facto* ruler of Egypt considered himself independent from the caliphate. If it had not been for what followed, these documents, or the corresponding literary texts, would not have warranted any extensive study. As it is, however, when connected with the texts, they do offer a great deal of interest in illustrating two important points in any explanation of ibn Ṭūlūn's career: his concern for the absolute

<sup>1</sup> To deduce from that that "c'est bien en 260 H. qu'il faut dater la première indépendance de l'Égypte en période d'Islam" (Jungfleisch, p. 8), seems to me farfetched. These were years when ibn Ṭūlūn's hands were full with the pacification of Egypt and there is no valid indication that there occurred any change in the status he had in 258.

legality of his acts towards the caliphate,<sup>1</sup> and a strange interest in the activities of the Byzantino-Arab frontier.<sup>2</sup> His actions seem meant to appear as conforming to the dictates of Islamic legal and political theory. It must be recalled that the first part of the third century A.H. was one of the most flourishing ones in the development of Islamic civilization, but one that is especially characterized by the activities of the great traditionists and codifiers of Islamic law. Practically alone among the Turkish officers, whose scandals fill the political chronicle of Iraq, Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn takes some part in the religious life of the time and withdraws to the frontier with its *ribāṭs* and its *ghāzis* without taking his family along.<sup>3</sup> It would not seem consequent then to suggest that his life of earnest retirement was followed by a sudden and intense involvement in intrigues which would ultimately make him independent, and put him in a position contrary to the very nature of Islamic political theory. That he did intrigue to achieve his aims is amply proved by the texts: it was the only means to achieve any result. But to attribute to him an aim to match his means is not to do justice to his past; and such an interpretation is certainly not justified by the contemporary and official documents of the time—as opposed to the later texts, which, influenced as they were by the later developments of Islamic history, tended to simplify earlier events. And it will be attempted to show that these very same religious and legal concerns directed ibn Ṭulūn's later actions.

We must, however, first turn to one unsolved problem of the coinage of the time, the problem of the five gold coins of 258. These, it will be remembered, are perfectly normal 'Abbāsid coins, except for the fact that on the fifth line of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also ibn Sa'īd's description, p. 16, of the reasons for which he demanded the control over finances; Hassan, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> See below.

<sup>3</sup> Hassan, pp. 30–31.

the reverse area we meet with a word which has not, so far, been understood [PLATE III]. It has been read as *Najrān* or *Bahrayn*, the latter being properly discarded by G. C. Miles,<sup>1</sup> since Miṣr appears as a mint on other coins of the same type, and since this would have been a most unusual place for the mint name at the time. The position of the word would almost require that it be a name, presumably the name of the governor responsible for the mint. But the possible names of Yārjūkh, the absentee lord of Egypt in 258, ibn Ṭulūn, or Ṭa'laḡ or Ṭughj, who briefly replaced Aḡmad ibn Ṭulūn while the latter went to Alexandria, do not fit the epigraphical data; and I have been unable to find a possible explanation for this word. Could it be a metrological term? Or are we dealing here with some symbol?

The first evidence we possess for a change in ibn Ṭulūn's position occurs in 265. From this year we have two inscriptions. One is on a textile.<sup>2</sup> It is of the usual type, except for the fact that the praise of the caliph is followed by the words: "this is what the *amīr* has [ordered] to be executed in the public *ṭirāz*, in Miṣr, in the year 265." The name of the *amīr* is not given, but there is little doubt that it is ibn Ṭulūn. The other two *ṭirāz* inscriptions known during his life-time and after 265 are both of the type of the 265 one, not of earlier ones.<sup>3</sup> The second inscription of 265 is the well-known one celebrating the foundation of the mosque of ibn Ṭulūn.<sup>4</sup> In it we meet again with the title of *amīr* and with the expression *mawla amīr al-mu'minīn*,<sup>5</sup> but the importance

<sup>1</sup> *RIC*, nos. 154-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Répertoire*, no. 685.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 699 and 702.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 682.

<sup>5</sup> The question here is to know whether, at this time, the expression *mawla amīr al-mu'minīn* is the statement of a certain personal relation between the two men or whether it is an official title. In a series of passages Max van Berchem has brilliantly shown that all titles in *amīr al-mu'minīn* imply a certain share in the sovereign power of the caliph, a "partage du

pouvoir." See, for instance, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum I Egypte*, in *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, vol. XIX (Cairo, 1903), pp. 81 ff.; or "Eine arabische Inschrift aus dem Ostjordanlandes," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, XVI (1893). In his commentary on the inscription of the mosque of ibn Ṭūlūn, *MCIA*, p. 29, van Berchem assumed that already at that time the expression was a title with the same implication as that found on later inscriptions. At the same time it can be open to doubt whether the formula, when used after the names of governors and financial administrators throughout the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods on stamps and weights, did mean much more than a personal relationship to the caliph. Cf. G. C. Miles, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps* (New York, 1948), index under *mawla amīr al-mu'minīn*. It seems to me that in the third century A.H. most titles were not yet formalized and that, in the case of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn one should still consider the formula as the expression of a personal relationship between the caliph and his subordinate, perhaps a delegation of authority, but certainly not a sharing of it, since the formula was used too often after the name of comparatively minor officials.

The same problem can be raised in the case of the word *amīr*, which refers either to a function or to a title. A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, Eng. tr. (London, 1937), pp. 81 ff., defines the *amīr* as the military commander, to whom was joined an '*āmil*, whose responsibility it was to deal with financial problems. While perhaps true in the tenth century, this is not so in the case of ibn Ṭūlūn. It is clear from al-Ya'qūbi, *Historiae*, ed. T. Houtsma (Leyden, 1883), II, p. 620, that he was the '*āmil* of Miṣr, while ibn al-Mudabbir was controlling the finances. In the examples used by Mez *amīr* refers really to a function. Similarly, when in his letter to al-Muwaffaq (see below p. 45) ibn Ṭūlūn refers to the latter as *amīr*, he no doubt meant the function of the caliph's brother as commander of the army, since the latter was only appointed as *wāli al-mashriq* or *wāli al-'ahd* (Ṭābari, III, 1890). Similarly ibn Ṭūlūn had been appointed as *wāli* or '*āmil*, not *amīr*. And yet, when on the 259 glass or on the mosque inscription we meet with the expression *al-amīr Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn*, there is little doubt that a rank or a title are meant as much as a function. There seems to be a distinction, in the third century A.H., between titles which were given and titles which were assumed. Either Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn liked to be known essentially as a military leader, or we are dealing here with the first steps of a formalization of titles which will be more completely achieved in the following centuries, but the whole question of the development of titles would warrant a more complete study. Cf. just recently A. A. Duri, arts. '*Āmil* and *Amīr* in new ed. of the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

of the inscription as a document consists essentially in the emphasis given in it to religious themes not usually found in construction inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Aside from the usual Qur'ānic quotations (II, 256; IX, 18; XXIV, 36-38), we meet with quotations (XLVIII, 29; III, 106) which are less common on building inscriptions and which emphasize the duty of the Muslim against the infidel,<sup>2</sup> thus pointing once more to the importance given by ibn Ṭulūn to the religious motivations of his acts and to the Holy War. Expressions such as *tasniyah al-dīn* and *'ulfaḥ al-mu'minīn* within the inscription itself give it an exhortative quality which was common enough on mosque inscriptions but whose emphasis relates it fairly closely to the later Seljuq and Ayyūbid inscriptions, at a time when the main task of the rulers was to restore the spiritual unity of the Islamic community. These two inscriptions are then followed in 266 by the gold coins struck in Miṣr with the name of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn under the name of the caliph. It is, therefore, only from that date that one could conceivably speak of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn as officially independent from the caliphate. But, even then, two questions are raised by this innovation. First, why 266 and not any other year after 258? And, second, what exactly can be meant by independence in the third century A. H., bearing in mind of course that we are not dealing so much with the *de facto* situation as with the *de jure* one? Is this the same kind of independence as is evidenced in Persia and North Africa at the same time?

The reason for raising the question of the year 266 is that, so far as one can gather from the texts, there was no new

<sup>1</sup> The financial-religious allusions found in this inscription have been fully discussed by G. Wiet, *MCIA I Egypte*, vol. 2 in *MIFAO*, vol. 52 (Cairo, 1930), pp. 80-1.

<sup>2</sup> For a similar idea expressed through Qur'ānic quotations in the Umayyad period, cf. my forthcoming analysis of the Dome of the Rock in *Ars Orientalis*, vol. III.

appointment given to Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn in that year. One would have to assume that more or less arbitrarily, in that year, Aḥmad suddenly decided to give an official confirmation to his actual rule over Egypt. However, the events of the preceding three years, that is since 263, together with the events which followed 266, may suggest a more complex explanation for the introduction of the Ṭūlūnid's name on the coinage of Egypt, and one that would be more consistent with his political and legal ideas.

In 258, according to Ṭabari, al-Mu'tamid had given his brother al-Muwaffaq the provinces of Diyār Muḍar,<sup>1</sup> Kin-nasrīn, and al-'Awāsim.<sup>2</sup> This tradition is definitely suspect, since it is contradicted by the existence of two coins from al-Rāfiqah (in the Diyār Muḍar) dated in 259 and bearing the name of Ja'far.<sup>3</sup> According to ibn-Sa'īd, the whole empire was divided into two parts, the western part being farmed out to Ja'far al-Mufawwaḍ, al-Mu'tamid's son and first in line of succession.<sup>4</sup> No date is given by ibn-Sa'īd, although a later Egyptian tradition (Taghribirdi) gives the date 256;<sup>5</sup> but the same event is related by Ṭabari for the year 261.<sup>6</sup> The coinage of Egypt has the name of Ja'far as early as 258,<sup>7</sup> and, since the name appears already in 256,<sup>8</sup> one

<sup>1</sup> Not of Misr, as Hassan writes, p. 52. The error, which consists in the omission of a dot, seems to have already been made by some editors of ibn al-Athīr, V, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> Ṭabari, III, pp. 1859-60.

<sup>3</sup> Tiesenhhausen, no. 1998; H. Nützel, *Katalog der Orientalischen Münzen I* (Berlin, 1898), no. 1553.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, p. 19. For another statement without date, see al-Ḥalabi in F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Aegypten zur Zeit der Chalifen* (Göttingen, 1875), III, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> Taghribirdi, III, p. 24. But *ibid.*, p. 33, he repeats the same story for the year 261.

<sup>6</sup> Ṭabari, III, p. 1890.

<sup>7</sup> Rogers, no. 3.

<sup>8</sup> B.M., I, no. 358.

might assume that the division was effected as soon as al-Mu'tamid became caliph. On the other hand, the 256 coin is from Baghdad which, according to the texts of the division, belonged to the realm controlled by al-Muwaffaq. Taghribirdi's date is thus certainly wrong, but whether this means that 261 should be accepted as the official date is not entirely certain. The numismatic and *ṭirāz* evidence does confirm the fact of the division,<sup>1</sup> but to my knowledge there is no epigraphical material between the years 256 and 261 which would give us the exact date of the division. In using the name Ja'far on the coins the mintmasters could have referred to the heir apparent to the throne. But at the same time it should be noted that we do not have any textual reference to al-Mu'tamid's heir apparent until 261, in Ṭabari's text, from which it appears that this is the date at which the name al-Mufawwad was given to him. Ṭabari's statement in this respect is confirmed by the coins, and the date 261 seems the most likely one for the division of the empire.<sup>2</sup> Why then does Ja'far's name appear on coins before 261? It has been suggested by Becker that it is because, at the death of Yārjūkh in 258, Ja'far was probably made successor to all of the latter's functions.<sup>3</sup> But while this is possible,<sup>4</sup> it would

<sup>1</sup> While in the east coins and *ṭirāz* inscriptions mention al-Muwaffaq (*B.M.*, nos. 352, 355, 356; *Répertoire*, no. 753), in the west the name of Ja'far, later under his *laqab* al-Mufawwad ila Allāh, is usual (*B.M.*, I, nos., 353, 358, 366, 374).

<sup>2</sup> Note the existence of a 261 coin with the name of Ja'far, *B.M.*, I, no. 374, which probably belongs to an early issue of that year. Cf. also Paris, I, nos. 261-2.

<sup>3</sup> Becker, pp. 162-3. A tradition existed, Ya'qūbi, II, 624, to the effect that it is the son of al-Muwaffaq, the future caliph al-Mu'taḍid, who took over Yārjūkh's appointment. Becker has shown that this is most unlikely, but the error shows that, even to contemporaries, the events concerning the succession of al-Mu'tamid and the legal rule of the empire were highly confusing.

<sup>4</sup> Ṭabari, III, p. 1873, mentions the fact that Ja'far attended Yārjūkh's



not explain the existence of coins as early as 256 with the name of Ja'far. One would have to dissociate in Ṭabari's text the two facts of the division of the empire and of the succession to al-Mu'tamid. Ja'far was already heir apparent in 256. In 261 he acquired a *laqab* and was associated with al-Muwaffaq in the rule of the empire, both decisions being strengthened by the sending of the agreement to Makkah, where it was put in the Ka'bah, following probably the precedent of the earlier agreement between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn.<sup>1</sup> As far as Egypt is concerned the years 258–261 are characterized by the fact that there was no proper authority replacing Yārjūkh. Ibn Ṭulūn did not receive a new appointment nor did he accomplish any action which would indicate that he considered himself independent, although, of course, there was no one to prevent him from doing what he wanted.

The situation was regularized in 261 when Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn's area of influence, Egypt and the *thughūr*, fell to the lot of Ja'far and, while al-Muwaffaq had his hands full in the murderous Zanj war, Egypt, with its wealth and army, was the only remaining force in the empire. The events which followed are well known and can be found in all reference books. Al-Muwaffaq asked for money, *ṭirāz*, slaves, and horses. But at the same time al-Mu'tamid, the caliph, sent a secret message to the effect that al-Muwaffaq's messenger was but a spy sent over to plot against ibn Ṭulūn. The latter kept the messenger under surveillance, but he did make an important contribution for the Zanj war, which, let us note it again, was witnessed officially by various Egyptian military and religious leaders. The sum was thought insufficient by al-Muwaffaq and the insulting man-

funeral. His presence there may perhaps be a sign of his relation to the deceased or to his former positions.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, p. 19; Ṭabari, III, p. 1890; Maqrīzi, II, p. 178.

ner in which his envoy was received led him to write an injurious letter to ibn Ṭūlūn and to remove him from his position. He even levied an army under the command of Mūsā ibn Būghā to move against ibn Ṭūlūn. Ibn Ṭūlūn also started to build up his defenses, but at the same time he wrote a letter to al-Muwaffaq, the text of which has been preserved by ibn Saʿīd and Maqrīzi, and which is one of the most important documents to explain all further actions of the Egyptian prince, especially if we keep in mind the all-important fact that the caliph himself had advised ibn Ṭūlūn against sending help to al-Muwaffaq. The main point of the letter is legal: "he (al-Muwaffaq) has no power over my office; he did not invest me with it... The division [of the empire] was between him and the *amīr* Jaʿfar. The oath of allegiance was sworn to them provided they keep their faith ... [If not,] the *community* (*al-ummah*) [*may*] *break from him and from [their] oath to him.*"<sup>1</sup> Al-Muwaffaq did try to use force, but his army stopped at Raqqah and it soon disintegrated. The only result was that ibn Ṭūlūn lost his official control over the *thughūr*, but here again the reason given by ibn Saʿīd is interesting.<sup>2</sup> It is that the *thughūr* should be held by "somebody who would be there, who would participate in the *ghazw* with its people, while Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn had sent somebody who was not doing anything about it." If one recalls the attachment of ibn Ṭūlūn to the frontier area, his next move is perfectly understandable. Disregarding his dismissal, which he probably believed had been forced on al-Muʿtamid by his brother, and profiting from the fact that Amajūr, the governor of Syria, had died in 264, he invaded Syria and received the allegiance of the

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, pp. 21 ff., especially p. 22; Maqrīzi, II, p. 179. This letter, which is more clearly preserved in Maqrīzi than in ibn Saʿīd, has been well paraphrased in Hassan, pp. 60–61.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, p. 24.

local prefects. But here again, while the possession of Syria is a long-standing economic and strategic necessity for whoever rules Egypt, it should be noted that formally Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn was only asking for the passage of his army to Tarsus, from where he was planning to start the war against the Christians.<sup>1</sup> Although the Tarsus expedition was only half successful, he intended to stay there;<sup>2</sup> but the news arrived of his son's revolt in 265. Returning to Egypt in 266, he gathered forces against his son; and in that same year the first coins bearing his name appeared in Fustāt, although no new investment was bestowed on him, nor had he taken any new title for himself.

It has been argued<sup>3</sup> that at that time ibn Ṭūlūn finally felt that he had reached the pinnacle of his power. But it must be admitted that ibn Ṭūlūn had been just as powerful and secure two years earlier when Mūsa ibn Būghā's army

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, p. 55; Kindi, p. 219. In view of the preceding evidence I would be less inclined than Hassan, p. 65, or Becker, p. 178, to be overly suspicious of ibn Ṭūlūn's purpose in moving into Syria. The story related by Nuwayri in Hassan, pp. 66–7 and whose text is given in Taco Roorda, *Abul Abbasi Amedis . . . . Vita et Res Gestae* (Leyden, 1825), p. 81, shows quite clearly that, although the reception given to ibn Ṭūlūn in Tarsus was far from being friendly, he used a trick which must have been heart-breaking for a general (let his forces retreat without fighting in front of the inhabitants of Tarsus) in order to demonstrate to the Byzantines the great strength of the city. Cf. also Masʿūdi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. C. A. Barbier de Meynard and A. Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1861–77), VIII, p. 67, where the word *ghāzw* is specifically used and where it is added that ibn Ṭūlūn's army was followed by volunteers (*muṭawwaʿah*) from Egypt and Syria. Such expeditions were constantly taking place on a smaller scale, sometimes led by ibn Ṭūlūn's lieutenants, Ṭabari, III, 1952. All texts on Tarsus are conveniently gathered in H. Grégoire et M. Canard, *La Dynastie Macédonienne*, in A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II (Bruxelles, 1950), pp. 4–23. But it is only rarely that one can witness an expedition as large as the one set up by ibn Ṭūlūn.

<sup>2</sup> Kindi, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Hassan, p. 77.

collapsed in Iraq. Furthermore, the example of his own lieutenant Lū'lū', who, in 268, issued coins with his own name in Rāfiqah, shows that it was not necessary to wait until one's power was fully established to start using the privileges of the *sikkah*. Aḥmad's action must, I believe, be explained in terms of his opinion on what was happening in Iraq at the time. His earlier letter had shown that he believed that al-Muwaffaq had usurped a power which did not belong to him and his relations with al-Mu'tamid led him to believe that the caliph felt the same way.

Around 266, Aḥmad went a step further and assumed that the caliph was no longer free of his movements, that he was virtually the prisoner of his brother. The events which followed have been well summarized by Hassan in his history of the Ṭulūnids:<sup>1</sup> al-Mu'tamid's unsuccessful flight from Iraq; the attempt to establish the caliphate in Egypt; Aḥmad's dismissal by al-Muwaffaq and his replacement by Ishāq ibn Kundāj, the governor of Mosul; his unsuccessful expedition to occupy Mecca; and finally the meeting at Damascus in 269, when the judges and religious leaders of Syria and Egypt were gathered to hear about the tragic state of the caliph and to exclude al-Muwaffaq from the succession to the throne. The meeting in Damascus is the crucial act in ibn Ṭulūn's activities. He did not try to use religious authority to foster the aims of his own ambition. Rather he tried to persuade the religious authorities of the truth and validity of his own inner conviction that the Commander of the Faithful was a prisoner and that he had to be delivered.<sup>2</sup> The meeting of 269 was certainly not called on the spur of the moment, but had been brought about by a long series of events which are not always very clear in the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81-4.

<sup>2</sup> It is on religious grounds that he refused to follow the advice of those who did not deem it wise to fight against al-Muwaffaq, ibn Sa'īd, p. 70.

sources.<sup>1</sup> It may be suggested that the appearance of the name of ibn Ṭulūn on the coins of Egypt in 266 can provide us with the date at which the vice-governor of Egypt and director of its finances felt that, since his contacts with the caliphate through proper channels were broken and since the caliph could no longer voice proper authority, he could participate in the official right of *sikkah*. In fact it was his duty to do so.

For this whole development illustrates yet another significant point. In the eleventh-century *al-Aḥkam al-Sulṭāniyah* of al-Māwardi, there is a passage which discusses the case when the freedom of the *imām* is impaired.<sup>2</sup> Two possibilities exist: either a subordinate of the *imām* takes more power than that to which he is entitled, or the *imām* is the prisoner of a victorious enemy, a polytheist or a rebellious subject. In the first case the procedure is for the *imām* to look for an ally or helper who will put an end to the domination of the usurper; in the second case, the whole community (*ummah*) must try to liberate him, through arms or through ransom. It could be argued that, in the case of the relationship between Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn and the caliphate, an evolution occurred which corresponds to the two possibilities outlined by al-Māwardi. First, the caliph, feeling that al-Muwaffaq took on too much power,<sup>3</sup> appealed to ibn Ṭulūn for help.

<sup>1</sup> Note that ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalāni seems to admit that al-Mu'tamid had sent a letter dismissing al-Muwaffaq from the succession, al-Kindi, p. 512. This statement, which is not confirmed by any other text, is one of many which tends to confuse the exact sequence of events in the five years before 269.

<sup>2</sup> al-Māwardi, *al-Aḥkam al-Sulṭāniyah*, ed. Maḥmūd Aly Ṣubayḥ (Cairo, no date), p. 18; tr. E. Fagnan (Algiers, 1915), pp. 38-41. Cf. also ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomènes*, tr. de Slane (Paris, 1863-68), I, p. 394. Al-Māwardi's statement is interpreted in a way similar to ours, but referring to a later period, by H. A. R. Gibb, "Al-Māwardi's theory of the khilāfah," *Islamic Culture*, XI (1937), pp. 297 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Note the usage of the word *ghalaba* by Mas'ūdi when talking about al-Muwaffaq, VIII, p. 67.

The second step appears to have been taken by ibn Ṭulūn independently from the caliphate, when he was led to believe—or tried to make others believe<sup>1</sup>—that the caliph was a prisoner of his brother. In the first act of the drama, at the time of his letter to al-Muwaffaq, Aḥmad was still considering himself as bound to the agreement which made al-Muwaffaq second in succession to the caliphate. It is only when he thought it incumbent upon himself, as the head of the only sizeable force in Islam outside of al-Muwaffaq's, to move against the latter—or shortly before that—that he felt free to strike coins with his own name below that of the caliph and with the name of the heir apparent and lord of the West, al-Mufawwad, on the obverse. Through his appeal to the *ijmā'* of the religious leaders of the area under his control, through his usage of a procedure which later became part of the textbooks on Islamic law, Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn also shows that his acts corresponded without doubt to a legal thought which must have been formulated somewhere in his time and which he probably learned during his years at Tarsus. In this sense, it is interesting to compare him to his opponent in Egypt itself, Bakkār ibn Qutaybah, the chief *qāḍi* of Egypt,<sup>2</sup> who refused to accept the Damascus verdict on the grounds that there was insufficient proof of the plight of al-Mu'tamid and that al-Muwaffaq had not, therefore, forfeited his position.<sup>3</sup> Bakkār certainly believed that the preservation of the faith was in a way independent from political contingencies.<sup>4</sup> Thus, next to ibn Ṭulūn's compara-

<sup>1</sup> The point whether the first or the second of these hypotheses is the correct one is not germane to this study, since it proposes essentially to give the theoretical framework within which ibn Ṭulūn acted. However, in the argument over whether Aḥmad or al-Muwaffaq begun the quarrel between the two men, Hassan appear to me to be right (p. 88) as against Becker (pp. 177–8), in believing that the Iraqi was responsible.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the texts and the commentary in Hassan, pp. 87–8 and 260ff.

<sup>3</sup> Kindi, p. 226; cf. also pp. 512ff., where ibn Ḥajar's stories are given.

<sup>4</sup> See the story given by Hassan, pp. 87–8.

tive radicalism, there seems to appear in Bakkār that principle of *ḍarūriyah* (necessity) which will be so much more strongly emphasized by al-Māwardi and al-Ghazzālī, several centuries later.<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to know to what extent and in what ways these two attitudes, this "ambivalence" so characteristic of any living culture,<sup>2</sup> corresponded to any well-defined position of the religious and legal groups of Islam in the ninth century.

Another question raised at this stage is that of the origins of ibn Ṭulūn's attitude. Does his legal framework reflect that of the early *ghāzi* of Islam? Too little is known about the organization and the life of the frontier in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., but the previously quoted statement of ibn Hawqal<sup>3</sup> suggests that there was an intensive intellectual life there together with the constant warfare.<sup>4</sup> We may meet in early Islam with a frontier psychology which is perhaps better known in the case of the later Danishmends, but which may at that time have been characterized by strict obedience to religious and legal principles.<sup>5</sup> The literary evidence is not very clear on the question of ibn Ṭulūn's reli-

<sup>1</sup> Gardet, *Cité*, pp. 178 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above p. 34, note 3. See also Ṭabari, III, 1930-1, for another personage who settled in a *ribāt*; *ibid.*, III, 2193, for a curious system of electing chieftains; also Iṣṭakhri in *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, I (Leyden, 1927), p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Note that as important a religious leader as the son of ibn Ḥanbal was *qāḍi* in the *thughūr al-sha'mīyah*; cf. above p. 29, note 3. Note also that this appears to be the period when certain themes of the "frontier legend" were established; see R. Gocssens, "Autour de Digénis Akritas", *Byzantion*, VII (1932), and esp. M. Canard, "Delhemma," *Byzantion*, X (1935), pp. 283-300.

<sup>5</sup> That the Holy War was given some consideration in the center of the empire, even when the caliphate was not at its highest, is shown by Ṭabari, III, 1481-85. On the *jihād* as a state institution rather than an individual one, see M. Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* (Baltimore, 1955), pp. 60 ff.

gious affiliation. According to Taghribirdi and the Egyptian tradition he was a *ḥanīfite*,<sup>1</sup> like Bakkār, and this is accepted by Hassan.<sup>2</sup> But another possibility is suggested by ibn al-Athīr,<sup>3</sup> who, although late, was fairly well informed on Ṭulūnid matters.<sup>4</sup> His description of ibn Ṭulūn mentions the latter not only as a pious man full of concern for religious problems, but also as a staunch *shāfi'ite*. The question cannot be settled without a more thorough attempt at comparing ibn Ṭulūn's actions and opinions with the lessons of the two schools, but could it be perhaps that, in his somewhat puritan approach, ibn Ṭulūn had been influenced by certain *shāfi'ite* methods of thought?<sup>5</sup>

If these hypotheses are acceptable, one can see how the coinage of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn serves to qualify the notion of the independence of the first dynasty of Egypt. We must now examine the problem from another direction and attempt to compare the expression of sovereignty of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn with that of the other dynasties of the century. The Ṭāhirids and the Aghlabids, although both dynasties started considerably earlier than the Ṭulūnids and although the collapse of the Ṭāhirids actually corresponded to the rise of the Ṭulūnids, are most likely to be fruitful as comparative subjects, since the establishment of the literally contemporary Ṣaffārids was the result of a conquest, while Ibrāhīm ibn al-Aghlab and Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, just as Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn, were appointed to their offices.

The 184/800 appointment of Ibrāhīm as governor (*amīr*)<sup>6</sup> of Ifrīqiyyah was truly "la solution avantageuse d'une situ-

<sup>1</sup> Taghribirdi, III, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Hassan, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, VI, p. 56 (under year 270).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. below.

<sup>5</sup> See J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1950), pp. 283 ff., 317-8, and *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> It would seem that the word *amīr* refers to a function here rather than to a title, ibn Idhāri, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Levi-Provençal, vol. I (Leyden, 1948), p. 92. Cf. also above p. 39, note 5.



ation difficile qui n'avait que trop duré."<sup>1</sup> The "difficult situation" was not the ambition of one leader, but the chaos of North African politics in the late eighth century. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Aghlab appeared to be the only leader who could unite all parties, and Hārūn al-Rashīd empowered him to do so. From then until the end of the dynasty we do not have much evidence of any continuous political relationship between the various Aghlabid rulers and the caliphs. In particular there is no indication that each Aghlabid prince was invested anew by the Commander of the Faithful.<sup>2</sup> At the same time we have no evidence that there was any break between Baghdad and Qayrawān. In one case where it is related that Ziyādah Allāh, while drunk, wrote a challenging letter to al-Ma'mūn, it is added that he immediately tried to overtake the messenger, and, failing to do so, that he sent a second letter in much more submissive terms. Al-Ma'mūn, we are told, did not pay any attention to the first letter.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, when al-Mu'taḍid ordered Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad to resign in favor of his son, he did so; but, instead of appearing before the caliph to justify himself, he preferred to go and die in the Holy War against the Christians.<sup>4</sup> Certain coins also were marked as being for the caliphate,<sup>5</sup> and it seems<sup>6</sup> that there was a continuous tribute sent from North Africa to Iraq. Similarly the spiritual prestige of the caliph was in no way

<sup>1</sup> G. Marçais, *La Berbérie et l'Orient au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1946), p. 59; see, in general, pp. 57-63 for a lucid statement of the respective positions of the Aghlabids and of the caliphate.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, the use of the word *aqarra* "to confirm," in the cases of al-Ma'mūn and al-'Amīn with respect to Ibrāhīm and Abdallāh, in ibn Idhārī, pp. 94 and 95. The word does not occur for any later prince.

<sup>3</sup> al-Nuwayri in Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, tr. de Slane and Casanova, I (Paris, 1925), p. 413.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 431-2.

<sup>5</sup> J. Farrugia di Candia, "Monnaies Aghlabites du Musée du Bardo," *Revue Tunisienne*, vol. VI (1935), p. 272; also vol. VII (1936), p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> Marçais, pp. 60 and 62.

impaired.<sup>1</sup> And yet, on the coins of the Aghlabids, with the exception of the coins of Ibrāhīm I, there is no mention of the name of the caliph.<sup>2</sup> For the first quarter of the third century this may not be too surprising, since, in a number of cases, even gold and silver coins struck in areas directly controlled by Baghdad did not give the name of the ruling Commander of the Faithful.<sup>3</sup> But from the reign of al-Mu'taṣim, and certainly from the time of al-Wāthiq, the name of the caliph always occupies the lower part of the reverse area, with, more often than not, the name of the heir apparent on the obverse. This practice was not followed by the Aghlabids. Did they simply continue the traditional type? Or were they indicating that, while vassals of the caliphate as an institution, they did not necessarily feel subjected to any specific caliph and that they considered themselves as politically and financially independent? The second explanation is certainly the more likely one and corresponds quite clearly to the reality of the time.<sup>4</sup> In other words, in the case of the Aghlabids, we deal with a dynasty, whose first representative was legally appointed by the caliph and which perpetuated itself without interfering in the affairs of the caliphate and without being touched by it. It is, as has been justly seen by Marçais, the perfect application of the first kind of *amirate* according to Māwardi,<sup>5</sup> but it went much

<sup>1</sup> See the examples given by Marçais and in particular the curious 250 inscription in the mosque of Tunis, where the name of the caliph is mentioned, but not that of the Aghlabid; cf., lately, G. Marçais, *L'Architecture Musulmane d'Occident* (Paris, 1954), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, *B.M.*, II, nos. 188–217.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, nos. 255, 256, 267, among many other examples.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the words of Nuwayri in ibn Khaldūn, pp. 397–8.

<sup>5</sup> Marçais, *Berbérie*, loc. cit.; Māwardi, tr. Fagnan, pp. 59ff. Here again the question can be raised whether in the third century A.H. we are already dealing with a formalized legal theory of the amirate or whether cases like that of the Aghlabids prompted the formulation of the theory.

further in its expression of independence than any previous dynastic group (always with the exception of Umayyad Spain), for it completely ignored the caliphal right of the *sikkah*, and only preserved the higher one of the *khutbah*.

At the other end of the empire the major power until the middle of the third century A. H. was that of the Ṭāhirids. They are generally considered, and in many ways justifiably so, in relation to the later so-called Persian dynasties, but the curious point about them is that, regardless of their significance as the first materialization of a Persian renaissance, from the caliphate's point of view they fulfilled in the East the same function *mutatis mutandis* as that of the Aghlabids in the West. They did not assume the rule of Khurāsān themselves, but it became apparent to the caliphs that the troubled situation in northeast Persia could only be resolved through the appointment there of Ṭāhir.<sup>1</sup> After his death his descendants were all regularly appointed by the caliphs until in 259 Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir was forcibly removed by the first Ṣaffārid.<sup>2</sup> But it is doubtful whether one can properly speak of a Ṭāhirid dynasty in Khurāsān, since many Ṭāhirids held high office in other parts of the empire, combining these at times with their own governorship in Khurāsān. The annals of 'Abbāsid governors in the first half of the third century show us many examples of sons succeeding fathers at the helm of various provinces<sup>3</sup> and the fact that five generations of Ṭāhirids followed each other as rulers of Khurāsān shows simply that from the point of view of the caliphate they fulfilled their purpose without endan-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ibn al-Athīr, V, pp. 196–7; Ṭabari, III, p. 1054; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952), p. 59; and pp. 320–1 for a discussion of the Ṭāhirids' relationship to the caliphate and reliance on the older Sasanian tradition.

<sup>2</sup> Ṭabari, III, pp. 1065, 1102, 1339, 1505–6, 1881–2.

<sup>3</sup> E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie* (Hanovre, 1927), *passim*.

gering the unity of the caliphate or creating undue trouble.<sup>1</sup> The literary evidence is here fairly well confirmed by the numismatic. On the one hand the existence of copper coins with debased Sasanian busts<sup>2</sup> shows the concern of some Ṭāhirids for the Sasanian heritage still alive in east Persia. But at the same time their coinage was not much different from that of many a governor. The name of the caliph is always mentioned and the few exceptions that are known are called "revolutionary" by G. C. Miles.<sup>3</sup> Since they were struck by Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn in 206, they should probably be connected with his tentative separation from the caliphate mentioned in a previous note.<sup>4</sup> In general, however, to consider Ṭāhirid coins separately as the expression of a new independent dynasty would lead us logically to consider any coin bearing the name of an officially appointed governor as the expression of the same independence. This does not mean denying the importance of the Ṭāhirids in the growth of independent movements in Persia. It merely suggests that, *from the point of view of the official expression of sovereignty*, there is no justification in calling the Ṭāhirids an independ-

<sup>1</sup> The only exception to this would be the curious and sudden dropping of the name of the caliph in the *khutbah* of 207 by Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn. His death, which followed the event quite closely, did not permit him to pursue whatever course he had in mind. Cf. al-Ya'qūbi, II, p. 556; Ṭabari, III, p. 1064; ibn al-Athīr, V, p. 204. In view of what followed the importance of this event seems to me to have been overestimated by V. Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Conquests* (London, 1928), p. 208, and by many others.

<sup>2</sup> *B.M.*, II, no. 240.

<sup>3</sup> G. C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (New York, 1938), nos. 108 B and C, and commentary pp. 110-111. See also the note of Lane-Poole in *Khedivial*, p. 80, where it is pointed out that a great number of coins were issued in places which were definitely under Ṭāhirid control without mentioning the name of the Ṭāhirids. On this subject see also E. de Zambaur, "Contributions II," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, XXXVII (1905), pp. 119ff., and especially pp. 125ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, note 1.

ent dynasty. The whole situation was, of course, to be altered in Persia with the advent of the Ṣaffārids and Sāmānids, just as it had been altered in the West with the conquering dynasties of the Umayyads of Spain and of the Idrīsids of Morocco.

Thus in comparing the Ṭulūnids with the other two "dynasties" of *appointed amīrs* of the third century A. H., we can see that there was a definite difference between what happened in Ifrīqiyah, Miṣr, and Khurāsān. In North Africa, the Aghlabids, officially appointed by the caliphs before taking things into their own hands, soon dropped the name of the caliph from their coins but maintained the principle of their appurtenance to the Islamic *koiné* through regular gifts and through sporadic announcements of their activities. The caliphs, probably largely ignorant of what was happening in their far-flung province, now and then showed some interest and some initiative in Aghlabid affairs. The Aghlabids, therefore, come as close to being independent as is possible within the framework of sunni Islam. The Ṭāhirids of Khurāsān would really be at the other extreme. This "iranisierte Familie arabischen Ursprungs"<sup>1</sup> belongs in fact to the category of hereditary top civil and military servants of the state who have taken to heart the interests of one part of the empire. Many examples could be found of similar occurrences in other civilizations and at other times. They were identified with a specific cultural area of the Islamic world, but, with a unique and short-lived exception, they did not sever their allegiance to the caliphate, either in fact or in their coinage.

The case of the Ṭulūnids, and especially of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn, belongs somewhere between these two extremes. Aḥmad was officially appointed in Egypt, but only in a junior capacity. Through his abilities and his intrigues, to

<sup>1</sup> Spuler, p. 59.

which must be added the Zanj war that immobilized the whole strength of Iraq, he rose in power. Official investments were only given to him piecemeal and his assumption of the title of *amīr* together with the striking of coins bearing his own name occurred only when, rightly or wrongly, he felt that it was his legal and religious duty to save the caliphate, and that he was the only one who could do so. Such questions as his personal ambitions and the justification of his assumptions do not matter on this score,<sup>1</sup> since in numismatic and epigraphical analyses we are dealing essentially with the *formal* rationale of man's actions; however, it should be noted that Aḥmad's constant concern with religious forms, the Holy War and religious justification of his actions could not have been very hypocritical, at a time when power politics of the roughest kind were shaking the Muslim world.<sup>2</sup> His coinage retained all the official notations expected in the realm controlled by the caliphs. Its importance, therefore, resides not so much in what appeared on it as in the timing of its appearance. Thus, while on the one hand the constant focusing of his attention on the affairs of the caliphate brings him closer to the situation of the Ṭāhirids (especially the earlier ones), his more or less self-imposed isolation from the actual power in Iraq led him to a degree of independence which belonged rather to the Aghlabid type. The ambiguity of the Ṭulūnid phenomenon in Egypt will appear most

<sup>1</sup> The whole psychological problem of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn has been admirably analyzed by Becker, and, with minor exceptions, the coinage confirms his analysis, but it may be wondered whether his diagnosis of a pure power struggle between al-Muwaffaq and ibn Ṭulūn is not oblivious of the tremendous power of religious motivations in the mediaeval world.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ṭulūn was not the only one who used religious arguments. In a panegyric written for the caliph al-Mu'taḍid a number of years later, the Ṭulūnid is called "a second Pharaoh of Egypt, who defied God and obeyed Satan." C. Lang, "Mu'taḍid als Prinz und Regent, ein historisches Helden-gedicht von ibn al-Mu'tazz," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XL and XLI (1886-7), verses 35-36.

strikingly in the time of Aḥmad's son and successor, Khu-mārawayh.

A last point must be made about the coinage of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn. Aside from Miṣr, only two mints are known, al-Rāfiqah and Dimishq.<sup>1</sup> Dimishq appears only twice, in 269 and in 270, and, although generalizations cannot be made on the basis of unique coins, it may be suggested that the appearance of the Damascus mint must be related to the meeting of 269 and to its consequent full assertion of ibn Ṭulūn's power. As to the al-Rāfiqah mint, of which we have many examples for 267, 268, and 270 (one coin), there is no doubt that the choice of the easternmost outpost of ibn Ṭulūn's possessions must be connected with his claim on the person of the caliph and with his opposition to al-Muwaffaq. The year 267 was perhaps the one in which the flight of al-Mu'tamid was planned and the sending to Diyār Muḍar of Lu'lu', ibn Ṭulūn's most important lieutenant,<sup>2</sup> may have been connected with these plans. Lu'lu's importance and comparative independence from ibn Ṭulūn is shown by the addition of his name to the coins of 268. In spite of Lu'lu's defection and of the failure of al-Mu'tamid's escape,<sup>3</sup> and although at that time ibn Ṭulūn's control over a part of the Jazīrah was not secure, the striking of al-Rāfiqah coins was continued in 269 and 270. Ibn Ṭulūn was still intent on asserting his power as close as possible to the caliphate. And perhaps the more political or strategic character of the al-Rāfiqah coins could find a further argument in the fact that with one known exception<sup>4</sup> all the coins whose weight is published are definitely lighter and therefore

<sup>1</sup> In a forthcoming work G. C. Miles attributes, on epigraphical grounds, a series of copper coins from Ashmūn to the Ṭulūnids.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Sa'id, pp. 67-8.

<sup>3</sup> Ṭabari, III, 2037-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Sumer*, III, p. 279.

more debased than the usual Miṣr dinars.<sup>1</sup> As far as the latter are concerned, not only were they kept at a consistent weight and gold standard, but it was part of the policy of ibn Ṭulūn to maintain a high standard of currency. In a story transmitted by ibn Saʿīd, it is said that for a king the purity of the gold used in his *dīnārs* means the purity of his life and afterlife.<sup>2</sup> It is added that the best *dīnārs* are of the *Muʿtaṣimi* and *Sindi* types, and that ibn Ṭulūn did his best to reach the latter's level.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. The coinage of Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad and late Ṭulūnid coinage

A discussion of the coinage of Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn may best be attempted from two different points of view. First, there is an historical problem, to the solution

<sup>1</sup> However in so far as I have been able to gather in the published catalogues and at the American Numismatic Society, the provincial ʿAbbāsīd coins from that period are similarly lower in weight than average; see below.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 34. The story occurs also in Maqrīzi, Wiet's ed. in vol. 30 of the *MIFA*O (Cairo, 1911), pp. 181-2, and in al-Balawi, *Sīrah Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn*, ed. Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī (Damascus, 1358 A.H.), p. 196. The latter book was unfortunately unavailable to me and I owe the reference to A. S. Ehrenkreutz, "The fiscal administration of Egypt in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. XVI (1954), p. 510, note 3. There seem to be slight variations in these accounts and Maqrīzi, in particular, relates that Aḥmad's coins became in turn noted for their excellency and even their superiority over *Muʿtaṣimi* and *Sindi* coins. They were called *Aḥmadiyah*. On all these terms cf. Sauvaire's "Matériaux. . .," *Journal Asiatique*, 7ème série, vol. XV (1880), pp. 271-2. A Sindi coin was of the type developed by al-Sindi, who took over the mint after the fall of the Barmakids, while a *Muʿtaṣimi* was obviously according to the standard of the coins struck by the caliph by the same name. See Miles, *Rayy*, pp. 84, 115, 117 for these personages, but I do not know of any evidence showing that in their own times their coins were especially noted for their excellency.



of which the numismatic evidence may be of some help. Second, there is a problem posed by the coins themselves in the state in which they have been preserved. It must be borne in mind, however, that, except for the earliest period of Khumārawayh's rule, the history of the Ṭūlūnid regime in Egypt after the death of Aḥmad is far less interesting and far less eventful than the few years which saw the establishment of the dynasty in Fustāṭ, and the coinage does not pose any major problem.

Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad succeeded his father without any difficulty, at the age of twenty.<sup>1</sup> The army and the civil government of Egypt accepted him as their leader.<sup>2</sup> But his position was not confirmed by the caliphate, in whose eyes Ishāq ibn Kundāj was the legal governor of Egypt. Therefore Khumārawayh's first task was to be recognized by the supreme power of Islam. There is no evidence to suggest that he tried in any way to maintain the positive moral and legal position of his father. Neither his character nor his training had prepared him for such an attitude. His sole aim was to stay in power. But this did not mean that he would meekly accept the dictates of al-Muwaffaq. After a series of military campaigns (on which more will be said below), in 273 a political and perhaps financial arrangement was reached with al-Muwaffaq. The latter was again mentioned in the *khutbah*, which suggests that Khumārawayh had maintained for three years the situation which existed at the time of Aḥmad's death, including the cursing of al-Muwaffaq.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> On Khumārawayh, see the article in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Hassan, pp. 107-133, and the chronicles. Becker, pp. 182ff., shows as usual a remarkable insight into the period. In general, however, we are far less informed on Khumārawayh than on his father and, as has been noted by Hassan, p. 116, the great compilers of world annals such as Ṭabari and ibn al-Athīr are often clearer in their exposition of Ṭūlūnid activities than the Egyptian writers.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Kindi, p. 237; Maqrīzi, I, p. 321.

political agreement between Egypt and the caliphate is important in that it closed the chapter opened ten years earlier with Aḥmad's refusal to send more money to al-Muwaffaq than was due to him. The politico-religious attempt of Aḥmad's had failed, since al-Muwaffaq was still in power. But, at the same time, the so-to-speak illegitimate succession of Khumārawayh to his father's position was recognized by the caliphate, largely because the military expedition sent to crush him had failed. No information is given on the specific financial arrangements made at that time, although there probably was some agreement on that matter; but the point is established that Khumārawayh and his successors (*wil-duhu*) receive the governorship (*wilāyah*) of Egypt and of the Syrias (*al-sha'māt*, meaning Palestine, Syria proper, the *thughūr*, and, almost certainly, the right bank of the Euphrates) for thirty years.

The importance of this agreement and of the events which preceded it consists in that it emphasizes two points: the absolute necessity for a working arrangement with the caliphate;<sup>1</sup> and the fact that the caliphate neither recognized the independence of the Ṭulūnids nor accepted without reservations the fact of a dynasty. By setting a time limit al-Muwaffaq acknowledged the existence of the Ṭulūnids,<sup>2</sup> but refused to farm Egypt out to them permanently and thereby admit the theory of dynastic succession outside the

<sup>1</sup> On this point see the remarks made by Becker, p. 184, about the apparent necessity for Turkish leaders throughout Muslim history to be fully accepted within the theoretical framework of the caliphate. Cf. Taghribirdi, III, p. 4, where ibn Ṭulūn is shown as hating other Turks very strongly. Note also that most of his sons received names from pre-Islamic Arab traditions. There is here again an interesting example of adaptation to and adoption of a culture by a second generation of men who came from an alien group.

<sup>2</sup> Note that Ṭabari and others, when talking about Egyptian army at that time, do not say *jaysh Khumārawayh*, but *jaysh ibn Ṭulūn*.

caliphate in the Muslim community. This agreement, no doubt, represents a step toward independence when compared with the regular appointments of Ṭāhirid governors, but it is not yet on a par with the situation of later centuries, when the dynastic sense increased and the relationship to the caliphate became more tenuous. In 279, after another series of military actions, in which al-Muwaffaq may not have been directly involved, a new agreement was reached with al-Mu'taḍid, the new caliph and former commander of the armies which had attacked Khumārawayh in 271. Actually this new agreement confirmed and clarified the first one. The area to be controlled by the Ṭūlūnids was defined as extending from the Euphrates to Barqah; administrative and judiciary autonomy was accorded to them; and the tribute was fixed permanently.<sup>1</sup> This agreement was maintained until 286, when the Ṭūlūnid Hārūn ibn Khumārawayh lost his northern possessions, was compelled to increase the tribute, and finally seems to have been forced to accept caliphal supervision in his administration.<sup>2</sup> In 292 Egypt became again a province directly administered by the caliphs.

The coinage of Khumārawayh and of his successors confirms this state of affairs. From 270 on until the end of the dynasty it reflects quite faithfully the situation of the caliphate. Al-Mu'tamid and al-Mufawwaḍ continue to appear on coins. Al-Muwaffaq does not, and it should be presumed, although for obvious tactical reasons the question does not appear to have been raised during the discussions, that the Egyptians still maintained the fiction of the division of the empire. Al-Muwaffaq died in *Ṣafar* 278 and was succeeded by his son al-Mu'taḍid in his position of second in the line of succession.<sup>3</sup> Exactly a year later al-Mu'taḍid edged out

<sup>1</sup> Kindi, p. 240; for the tribute see Hassan, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Taghribirdi, III, p. 118; Hassan, pp. 141-2.

<sup>3</sup> Ṭabari, III, p. 2123.

his cousin al-Mufawwaḍ and became the only official *wāli al-‘ahd*.<sup>1</sup> In *Rajab* of the same year 279 al-Mu‘tamid died and al-Mu‘taḍid became caliph.<sup>2</sup> Two coins struck in Miṣr and preserved in the University Museum and American Numismatic Society collections (no. 52) belong to the early part of 279, since they have al-Mu‘taḍid as heir apparent, but a number of coins of the same year already have him as caliph. They must have been struck shortly after he became caliph and confirm the fact that it was customary to strike coins as soon as a new man attained supreme power. The same thing occurred at the death of al-Mu‘taḍid in *Rabī‘ II* 289.<sup>3</sup>

Another body of epigraphical evidence parallels that of the coins and can help in defining the relationship between the Egyptian dynasty and the caliphate. It consists of the *ṭirāz* inscriptions, of which a comparatively large number survives from the period under consideration. Two inscriptions are particularly interesting since they are dated in 272, that is before the agreement was reached which recognized Khumārawayh as governor of Egypt.<sup>4</sup> One was made in Tinnīs, and contains not only the name of the *amīr* Khumārawayh, *mawla amīr al-mu‘minīn*, but also that of the caliph and of al-Mufawwaḍ, curiously enough here simply called Ja‘far. This inscription confirms the evidence of both coins and texts, showing that Khumārawayh preserved the situation as it was at the time of Aḥmad’s death in spite of the illegality of his situation. The other *ṭirāz* inscription, made this time in Alexandria,<sup>5</sup> bears the name of the caliph only. In other words, during the time when Khumārawayh was actually fighting the forces of the caliph, textiles were

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 2131.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 2133.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, pp. 2206–7.

<sup>4</sup> *Répertoire*, no. 731.

<sup>5</sup> *Répertoire*, no. 732.

officially made in Egypt for the caliphate without mention of the Egyptian ruler's name.

The existence, after 273, of well over thirty published *ṭirāz* inscriptions from Egypt during the Ṭulūnid period can help in providing an explanation for this anomaly. Of these inscriptions all those made in Tinnīs, except one, and the only one known from Damietta<sup>1</sup> bear the name of the Ṭulūnid ruler, while all those made in Alexandria or Miṣr bear only the name of the caliph.<sup>2</sup> It will be recalled that Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn had received the right to deal with *ṭirāz* matters.<sup>3</sup> It may be assumed that Khumārawayh maintained the practice established by his father and that it was accepted by the caliphate after 273 or 279, although there is no mention of it in the texts. But what is important to us is that at no time<sup>4</sup> did the Ṭulūnids control *all* the textile factories of Egypt. Serjeant, in his study of texts on Islamic textiles, has suggested that Tinnīs and Damietta were centers where Christians from Egypt worked and where a Coptic type of textile was made.<sup>5</sup> If his conclusions are correct, the Ṭulūnids only had power over the purely local, Coptic factories; but throughout their history the cloth manufacture in the two largest cities of Egypt, Fustāṭ<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 757, 767, 774, 785, 788, 805, 813, 814, 818, 825, 847; the exception is no. 769.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 736, 758, 762, 768, 778, 779, 780, 784, 793, 824, 827, 828, 837, 838.

<sup>3</sup> Above p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> The statement of ibn al-Athīr, VI, p. 50, quoted by R. B. Serjeant, "Material for a History of Islamic Textiles," *Ars Islamica* IX (1942), p. 72, that one of the reasons for the cursing of ibn Ṭulūn was that he had dropped the name of al-Muwaffaq from the *ṭirāz* is rather curious, since the name of the heir apparent occurs only occasionally and that of the "heir in second" is not known.

<sup>5</sup> Serjeant in *Ars Islamica*, XIII–XIV, pp. 88 and 91 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Miṣr is taken here to mean Fustāṭ. Serjeant assumed it to be so for textiles and Lane-Poole for coins. For a different view cf. G. Wiet, *L'Exposition Persane de 1931* (Cairo, 1933), p. 6.

Alexandria, was not their direct concern but that of the far away caliphs. The implication of this state of affairs in the organization of textile manufacturing, a state concern almost on the same level as the striking of coins,<sup>1</sup> does not concern us here,<sup>2</sup> but these examples are important in illustrating once more the curious dichotomy of mediaeval Islamic civilization, not only a dichotomy between practice and theory which has often been discussed,<sup>3</sup> but a dichotomy between levels of legal authority. With textiles, just as with coins, it was essential to preserve the fiction of an effective caliphal control. And, thus, just as in Islamic art a series of unifying factors tie together the tremendous variety of themes and ideas which found their way into mediaeval Near Eastern culture,<sup>4</sup> the more or less self-sufficient political centers (outside of the remote areas of North Africa and Spain) felt bound to accept symbols of a politico-religious authority which at times was not capable of raising an army to defend itself.

There is yet another historical problem where the coins can be of help. Between 270 and 279, as has been mentioned, Khumārawayh was involved in a series of military operations whose purpose was to consolidate his position in Syria. These operations are described in the texts, but since they were numerous and as they involved always the same people,

<sup>1</sup> See Serjeant's first chapter, *Ars Islamica*, IX, pp. 60ff.

<sup>2</sup> A distinction may be emphasized here between the *ṭirāz al-khāssah* and the *ṭirāz al-ʿammah*, Wiet, *Exposition*, p. 7. See also A. Grohmann, article "Ṭirāz," in *Encyclopedia of Islam* (note in particular all the additions found in the supplement), where a number of texts are given about the various Tinnīs factories.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., most recently, J. Schacht, *Esquisse d'une Histoire du Droit Musulman* (Paris, 1953), pp. 70ff.

<sup>4</sup> R. Ettinghausen, "Interaction and Integration in Islamic Art," in *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, ed. G. von Grunebaum (Chicago, 1955), *passim*. Most of the studies in this book emphasize the same theme from different angles.

many a chronicler appears to have been confused about their order and their exact dates. In the case of one mint the remaining coins can be used to determine the succession of the campaigns. The case is that of the coins struck in al-Rāfiqah. They are known for every year between 270 and 279. After 279 they still appear, but they are of no importance to us here since they are purely 'Abbāsid,<sup>1</sup> reflecting probably the fact that, as was previously mentioned, the 279 agreement limited Khumārawayh's possessions to the areas west of the Euphrates and presumably did not include the Diyār Muḍar in its totality, if at all. It is the period between 270 and 279 which interests us here and it is the most eventful one in terms of military expeditions. Among the coins the name of Khumārawayh appears in 270, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, and 279. But, in 270, 271, 272, 274, and 275, coins were also struck in al-Rāfiqah which do not bear the Ṭūlūnid's name and should therefore be considered as purely 'Abbāsid.<sup>2</sup> The question is whether this body of coins can help us determine with some degree of certitude the exact succession of events.

<sup>1</sup> 281: *Khedivial*, no. 623; 283: Paris, I, no. 1043; 291: Tiesenhausen, no. 2182.

<sup>2</sup> 270: Porter in *Numismatic Chronicle* (1921), p. 323; 271: Casanova, no. 639; 272: *B.M.*, IX, no. 352n and U.M.; 274: Rogers, no. 38, Paris, I, no. 998, U.M.; 275: Tiesenhausen, no. 2876. The 274 coins present a curious problem. They bear on the reverse the name of Aḥmad ibn al-Muwaffaq, the future al-Mu'taḍiḍ, while the obverse has the name of al-Mufawwad. The oddity of the coin consists in the fact that in the month of *shawwāl* 274 Aḥmad quarrelled with his father and was jailed (Ṭabari, III, 2115). The coin may have been struck in the early part of the year, but, so far as I have been able to determine, Aḥmad had no official position at the time. That he was at the head of a political *coterie* at the time is made quite clear from the various stories told about him by Ṭabari (cf. index) and it appears that the activities of that *coterie* led to his arrest. Was this coin the result of some manoeuvre of that political group? Did ibn abi al-Sāj belong to it?

It will be recalled that in 269 Ishāq ibn Kundāj had been appointed by al-Muwaffaq as governor of all of ibn Ṭūlūn's possessions.<sup>1</sup> This man, whose lack of military ability (I believe that he lost just about every battle in which he was involved during the period under consideration) was only matched by his pugnacious interference wherever he thought he might gain some advantage, will become the main actor in the subsequent fighting. At the time of ibn Ṭūlūn's death he was in Mosul. The news of ibn Ṭūlūn's death traveled fast and, while one of the first acts of the new ruler of Egypt was to strike coins with his own name in both Miṣr and al-Rāfiqah, ibn Kundāj moved towards Syria, underestimating, as ibn al-Athīr specifically says, the power of Aḥmad's son.<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt that he went first to al-Rāfiqah, since there is a purely 'Abbāsīd coin from al-Rāfiqah in 270 and since Ṭabari states that in 270 a fight occurred there between ibn Kundāj and the Ṭūlūnid representative.<sup>3</sup>

In the meantime, ibn Kundāj had got in touch with the caliphate, which sent an army under abu al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Muwaffaq, the future al-Mu'taḍid. This army moved along the Euphrates, then crossed over to Qinnasrīn, and, finally, went south to Palestine where, between Jerusalem and Ramleh, it encountered the main Ṭūlūnid force at the tragicomic battle of al-Ṭawāḥīn.<sup>4</sup> Al-Kindi puts the battle in *Ṣafar* 271, but this sequence of events poses a problem. According to the Egyptian chroniclers (al-Kindi, al-Maqrīzi, Taghribirdi), Aḥmad died on the tenth of *Dhū al-qa'dah* 270. Could it be that during the three months which elapsed between the day of his death and the battle of al-Ṭawāḥīn all this could have occurred: the news had traveled as far as

<sup>1</sup> Ṭabari, III, p. 2048.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, VI, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Ṭabari, III, pp. 2104-5.

<sup>4</sup> Ṭabari, III, pp. 2106-7; Kindi, p. 235; Hassan, pp. 110-112.



Mosul; coins had been struck at al-Rāfiqah both by the new ruler of Egypt and by the invader; an army had been raised in Baghdad and Mosul and had reached southern Palestine? One should take into consideration here a tradition transmitted by Ṭabari alone<sup>1</sup> to the effect that the news of Aḥmad's death had reached Baghdad as early as *Sha'bān* 270. Ṭabari puts the battle of al-Ṭawāḥīn in *Shawwāl* 271, which would give us some fourteen months between the two events. The dates of the Egyptian historians are definitely unacceptable. And, although one could conceivably adopt Ṭabari's date for the death of ibn Ṭūlūn and the Egyptian date for the battle, it is generally apparent that the chronology of events transmitted by Iraqi historians is more trustworthy than that given by the Egyptians. A difficulty would be that no coins from Miṣr are known for the year 270 with the name of Khumārawayh, an odd thing if four months had elapsed between the death of Aḥmad and the end of the year. Yet such coins may still be found and may even be included among the 27 specimens of our type 14, many of which are undescribed, inasmuch as there is a Rāfiqah coin struck in 270 with the prince's name. One should, I think, adopt Ṭabari's dates for both events.

That in 271 we have only an 'Abbāsīd coin from al-Rāfiqah is perfectly natural, since, although the Ṭūlūnids won the battle, they only pursued the enemy as far as Damascus which was properly and officially re-occupied. The events of 272 and 273 are more complex and the chronicles are highly confusing. We know practically nothing of what Khumārawayh was doing during most of the year 272. He appears to have stayed in Fustāṭ. He left in *Dhū al-qa'dah* for Syria, where he had his governor in Damascus murdered for insubordination in *Muḥarram* 273.<sup>2</sup> At the same time a

<sup>1</sup> Ṭabari, III, p. 2104.

<sup>2</sup> Kindi, p. 236; Taghribirdi, III, p. 51.

quarrel took place between ibn Kundāj and ibn abi al-Sāj, another roving 'Abbāsīd governor, half official, half adventurer, who was governor of the Euphrates area south of al-Rāfiqah.<sup>1</sup> Ibn abi al-Sāj called Khumārawayh for help, subjecting himself and the area under his control to the Ṭulūnid. Together they moved against ibn Kundāj, whom they defeated near Raqqah in *Jumāda I* 273, and pursued as far as Samarra.<sup>2</sup> Ibn abi al-Sāj obtained from Khumārawayh all that had been conquered from ibn Kundāj. The expedition was followed by the agreement of 273, actually reached through the intermediary of ibn Kundāj. Territorially the agreement probably acknowledged the *status quo*, and thus can be explained the purely Ṭulūnid coins of 273.<sup>3</sup> A problem arises, however, about the existence of two Ṭulūnid coins of 272 struck in al-Rāfiqah. Only two possible explanations for their existence can be found. One is that some local governor acknowledged Khumārawayh for a while without its being recorded in the literature. It could not have been ibn Kundāj and, according to ibn al-Athīr, ibn abi al-Sāj, who had been governor at Raqqah, only controlled Qinnasrīn at that time. But one may wonder whether ibn al-Athīr is correct in writing that ibn abi al-Sāj was in Qinnasrīn. In 269, according to Ṭabari and ibn al-Athīr, he was in Raḥbah, on the Euphrates below Raqqah, and had gone as far north as Qarqisiyā (at the mouth of the Khābur and the Euphrates),<sup>4</sup> whence he had dislodged ibn Ṣafwān, a Ṭulūnid governor.<sup>5</sup> There is, so far as I have been able to

<sup>1</sup> For his earlier career see Ṭabari's index, esp. III, pp. 1941-2 and 2025ff. For his situation in 269, see ibn al-Athīr, VI, p. 50. In general see article "Sādjids" in *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

<sup>2</sup> Kindi, p. 236; Ṭabari, III, p. 2112; but the most coherent account is that of ibn al-Athīr, VI, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> 'Abbāsīd coins of that year, if found, would have to belong to the early part of the year.

<sup>4</sup> Ṭabari, III, p. 2049; ibn al-Athīr, VI, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> Hassan, p. 80.

discover, no information about his whereabouts between 269 and 273. But, when Ṭabari mentions the battle that took place between him and ibn Kundāj in 273,<sup>1</sup> he places it at Raqqah, which would be perfectly logical if the man had still been in the middle Euphrates area. Ṭabari says nothing about his allegiance to Khumārawayh, but the 272 coin would indicate that he had already passed into the Ṭulūnid camp. Thus, while ibn al-Athīr's sequence of events is in all probability the correct one, his dating and his account of the areas in which the events occurred is confused. The 272 coin and the information given by Ṭabari permit a more secure understanding of what happened, where, and when.

A second series of military operations took place between 274 and 276. There were in fact two major operations.<sup>2</sup> First ibn Kundāj, in 274, started a new offensive towards Syria. Khumārawayh opposed him brilliantly, crossed the Euphrates, and defeated him. Ibn Kundāj gave up all his possessions to the Ṭulūnid and Khumārawayh returned to Egypt. Immediately afterwards ibn abi al-Sāj revolted. Khumārawayh defeated him alone near Damascus (in *Muḥarram* 275), then pursued him to the Jazīrah. There Khumārawayh received help from ibn Kundāj, who was, however, defeated. But Khumārawayh himself was victorious over ibn abi al-Sāj; and the latter, who had been in constant touch with al-Muwaffaq, withdrew to Baghdad, where he received a new appointment.<sup>3</sup> These events are confirmed by the numismatic evidence, which definitely favors ibn al-Athīr's account over that of the Egyptian chronicles. In 274 there appears a series of 'Abbāsīd issues, which correspond to ibn abi al-Sāj's revolt. Since there is also a 275 'Abbāsīd coin, it

<sup>1</sup> Ṭabari, III, p. 2112.

<sup>2</sup> I am following here ibn al-Athīr, VI, pp. 62-64. Kindi, p. 238 and Taghribirdi, III, p. 56 seem to have confused the two operations.

<sup>3</sup> The information in Maqrīzi, I, p. 321 and Taghribirdi, III, p. 52 is entirely erroneous as far as the dates of all these events are concerned.

follows that ibn abi al-Sāj remained in Raqqah during the early part of that year, but the Ṭulūnid issues of the same year illustrate Khumārawayh's victory. From 275 until 279 only Ṭulūnid coins are known from al-Rāfiqah. After that date, willingly or not, Khumārawayh lost control of all areas east of the Euphrates.<sup>1</sup>

While the coins provide an answer for a number of historical problems, in themselves they pose a major one to which historical texts should provide an answer. One of the striking features of Khumārawayh's coinage is the sudden multiplication of the number of mints. While under Aḥmad only three are known (Miṣr, al-Rāfiqah, Dimishq), under his son five new ones appear (Ḥimṣ, Filasṭīn, Ḥalab, Ḥarrān, and Anṭākiyah), and none of the older ones is abandoned. Furthermore these mints do not, so far as our present evidence goes, appear from the very beginning of his rule, but only from the year 276, with the exception of Ḥimṣ, which occurs already in 274. It is admittedly true that a numismatic discussion can never wisely be based on negative evidence, unless one deals with hoards or large numbers of coins, and it may very well be that future discoveries will

<sup>1</sup> Two coins have been published which present something of a puzzle. J. Allan, "Unpublished Coins of the Caliphate," *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. XIX (1919), p. 187, mentioned a B.M. coin dated in 284 and minted in Damascus without the name of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn. Dr. J. Walker kindly informed me that this is a misprint and that the coin is dated in 294. The second coin, in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, was published by G. H. Nassar, "The Arabic Mints in Palestine and Transjordan," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, vol. XIII (1948). It was struck in 277 in Filasṭīn and is described as 'Abbāsīd, not Ṭulūnid. I do not know of any historical event which would have justified an 'Abbāsīd issue at that date in Palestine. The sources (Kindi, pp. 239-240; Taghribirdi, III, p. 52) do say that in that year Khumārawayh left for Syria on some "necessary business," but they do not say what. He returned to Egypt shortly thereafter. Was there some rebellion in Palestine? Or has the coin been incorrectly read?

complete or change the picture. I do not believe, however, that future discoveries will alter the picture too much, since it is between 273 and 276 that Khumārawayh had established himself firmly as ruler of Egypt and Syria, and it is only then that he was free to administer his provinces without interference.

The questions that are raised by the introduction of the new mints are essentially two: what led to the specific choice of mints? What was the function of coins struck in these mints in the economy and life of Ṭulūnid controlled lands? The questions are really too vast to be dealt with entirely at this juncture, inasmuch as contemporary texts are of little help. Furthermore these are not problems which can be easily solved through the case of the Ṭulūnids alone, but ones which should be started with studies of the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods in order to show the precedents which might have led to the situation under the Ṭulūnids. Only a few remarks can be made here which may contribute towards a better understanding of the whole problem.

First it can be asked whether the Ṭulūnid mints were deliberately located so that every province (*jund*) should have its own. Do the coins show something about the administration of the land? Miṣr, Filasṭīn, Ḥimṣ, Ḥalab, and Anṭākiyah are all in different *junūd*.<sup>1</sup> In the cases of Dimishq and Ḥimṣ, both the province and the capital bear the same name. In Palestine Filasṭīn was used to mean the capital Ramlah,<sup>2</sup> while Miṣr is almost always identified with Fustāṭ.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All the texts dealing with the organization of Syria at that time are conveniently gathered in G. LeStrange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, (London, 1890), pp. 24 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Note the statement of Naṣīr-i Khusraw, *Sefar-nāmeḥ*, ed. and tr. C. Scheffer (Paris, 1881), p. 65 about Ramleh that "this city is known in Syria and the Maghrib under the name of Filasṭīn." Compare the modern usage of *ash-shām* for Damascus.

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 64, note 6.

In the two cases of Ḥalab and Anṭākiyah, we are dealing with the capitals of the provinces of Qinnasrīn and al-ʿAwāsim.<sup>1</sup> No city other than the capital is known as a mint in any of these provinces. This points to a remarkable organization of the minting processes in Ṭulūnid times. Instead of using a large number of mint names often with comparatively little concern for administrative units, as was often the case in earlier times, we meet now with what appears to be a conscious pattern of unity. This pattern will be followed in the ʿAbbāsīd period after the fall of the Ṭulūnids and under the Ikhshīdids, although in Fāṭimid times again the number of mints will increase, often with little relation to the organization of the state.<sup>2</sup> The only mint which appears immediately after the Ṭulūnids in the area under their control is that of Ṭabariyah, capital of the province of Urdunn, and, even then, a new discovery may easily fill in this gap, so that there is no need to assume that al-Urdunn was not a Ṭulūnid province with its own administration. An interesting fact about these mints is that in at least two cases the Ṭulūnid initiative seems to have acted as a stimulant. Ḥalab and Anṭākiyah were extremely rare mints before the Ṭulūnid period,<sup>3</sup> but Ḥalab became quite common in later years.<sup>4</sup> while Anṭākiyah remained as an Ikhshīdid mint, but was soon after taken by the Byzantines.

A last question to be raised with regard to the administrative significance of these mints is why, in the cases of

<sup>1</sup> The town of Qinnasrīn was at that time in decadence and Aleppo was in fact the capital of the *jund*.

<sup>2</sup> G. C. Miles, *Fāṭimid Coins* (New York, 1951), pp. 50–51.

<sup>3</sup> Ḥalab: 146 (Tiesenhhausen, no. 747), 153 (*ibid.*, no. 825), 138 (*RIC*, no. 371), 164 (Tiesenhhausen, no. 961), all but one coppers. Anṭākiyah: 138 (*RIC*, no. 220, where the final statement in the commentary should be amended).

<sup>4</sup> I have only checked through the Ikhshīdid period.

Anṭākiyah and Ḥalab in particular, was the name of the town chosen rather than the name of the province, since the evidence definitely indicates that the mints were chosen because they represented the provinces. The problem is important, for an answer to it would lead to an eventual understanding of the nature of the process of localization of gold minting in mediaeval Islam. Were the towns chosen indiscriminately? Were the capitals of the provinces chosen because the coins were actually struck there? Is there a difference between coins struck in "royal" foundations and those struck in administrative capitals?<sup>1</sup> While a valid answer could only be given after a comparative analysis of mints on a large scale, one may venture the suggestion that in *Ṭulūnid* times, the mints were restricted to provinces, but that each province tended to become characterized by its chief city (whether the reasons for determining the chief city be political or economic). Filastīn and Miṣr appear to be exceptions, but even there the official identification of the two terms with the cities of Ramlah and Fuṣṭāṭ seems likely, and in the case of Miṣr, this identification would probably be confirmed by the evidence of the *ṭirāz*.

It will be noted that two *Ṭulūnid* mints have been omitted from this discussion: al-Rāfiqah and Ḥarrān. As far as al-Rāfiqah is concerned, I hope to have established that, since the province was never held by the *Ṭulūnids* long enough to be truly administered by them, the coins issued there had a political rather than administrative significance.<sup>2</sup> The appearance in the year 276 only of the mint of Ḥarrān is definitely puzzling. It is in the Diyār Muḍar, but much farther north than the usual scenes of the fighting between Khumārawayh and ibn Kundāj or ibn abi al-Sāj. Further-

<sup>1</sup> For instance al-Mu'izzīyah al-Qāhirah as opposed to Miṣr in the Fāṭimid period.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 58.

more, Khumārawayh was back in Fustāt in *Jumāda I* of that year and, so far as I have been able to ascertain, Ḥarrān is never mentioned by the chroniclers as being part of the areas belonging to Khumārawayh, although an army of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn did reach Ḥarrān.<sup>1</sup> The most likely explanation for these coins could be the following. In 275, when ibn abi al-Sāj left Raqqah and moved first to Mosul and then to Baghdad, ibn Kundāj remained in the Diyār Rabī'ah and the Diyār Muḍar.<sup>2</sup> At that time he was presumably still an ally of Khumārawayh and these coins could be a sign of his allegiance to the Ṭulūnid, struck where he had established himself at the time, that is, at Ḥarrān. This allegiance was probably very short-lived, since in later times we do not hear any more of any relations between the two men, nor are there any coins which would suggest one, although in 280 ibn Kundāj was still active in the same areas, involved this time in 'Abbāsīd politics.<sup>3</sup>

These coins from Ḥarrān are interesting in yet another respect. With the exception of an Arab Byzantine copper<sup>4</sup> they are the first known coins from that mint and here again the mint was fairly active in the years which followed.<sup>5</sup> What seems to have been an accidental event of Ṭulūnid coinage had significant repercussions. But the importance of these coins, as far as the Ṭulūnids are concerned, is, just as in the case of al-Rāfiqah, purely political. Their aim was propagandistic, not economic or administrative; and in that sense they no doubt fulfilled an essential function of coins throughout the middle ages, if not even in the modern period.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, VI, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, VI, p. 64. Already in 273 he had withdrawn at one point to Mardīn, *ibid.*, p. 61, and it does seem that he had considerable support in this whole area of the Jazīrah.

<sup>3</sup> Ṭabari, III, p. 2137.

<sup>4</sup> *RIC*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> The next coin is 'Abbāsīd in 284, *RIC*, no. 160.



A last remark should be made about Ṭūlūnid coins as a whole. Almost always—the few exceptions are indicated in the catalogue—the coins other than those bearing Miṣr as a mint are lower in weight by a rather considerable margin. In view of the importance of the *sikkah* as a gubernatorial and princely prerogative, it is probable that this custom was imposed from Egypt (it may be worth noting that the Ḥarrān coins certainly struck outside the regular channels are of higher weight than the rest of the provincial coins). It is all the more remarkable because the Miṣr coins are almost throughout<sup>1</sup> of a high and consistent weight, thanks to the wealth of the country and to the high standards imposed by ibn Ṭūlūn.<sup>2</sup> Was this an attempt to assert the high value of the currency struck in Egypt? Does it imply that the coins bearing provincial mints were not necessarily struck there?<sup>3</sup> Can it be connected with attempts to protect or to enhance the buying power of the inhabitants of Egypt? These questions are directed to the economic historian and cannot be answered before more complete data are available from other times and places.

<sup>1</sup> Exceptions would be provided by some of the later issues (283, 285, 286, 291). By that time both the political and the economic situation of this regime had considerably deteriorated.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> There are several pieces of evidence suggesting that provincial coinage, in particular that of al-Rāfiqah, was not struck in the provincial city itself, but either in Baghdad-Samarra or in Fustāṭ. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that a glance at the illustrations (see, for instance, pl. I, nos. 27, 45) shows that there are notable epigraphical differences between al-Rāfiqah and Miṣr coins. It would seem *a priori* unlikely that the mint masters in the capitals would also devise a special epigraphy for provincial coins. This phenomenon should perhaps be connected with the information given by W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), pp. 204 ff., that in Khwarizm debased coinage was introduced to prevent the circulation of local coinage beyond the frontiers of the province.

The marks found on Ṭulūnid coins should be connected either with economic matters or with the identification of certain issues. The general problem of marks is, however, far from being solved and we lack sufficient evidence to draw any general conclusions. An interesting point, however, is that these marks, which are of the most common type (*‘ayn*, *hā*, *hā*, *tā-mim*, *bā*) do not occur at the beginning of the dynasty. The earliest example is on the 276 coin from An-ṭākiyah and it should be noted that these signs begin on provincial mints, although by no means all of them, and that they do not become common on Miṣr coins before 280. Here again we seem to meet with a difference between provincial and central mints, whose significance is not very clear and which cannot, I believe, be explained through Ṭulūnid coins alone.

The only individual coin which may still deserve comment is the one numbered 51 in the catalogue. It was published over a hundred years ago by Soret;<sup>1</sup> by the inclusion of the name al-Mu‘tamid it is datable before 278, and it also bears the name of Khumārawayh. On the reverse this small copper bears a name which has been read by Soret as Aḥmad ibn Ya‘qūb. Soret suggested first that this may have been an Aḥmad ibn Ya‘qūb who had for a while governed Sicily for the Aghlabids and who would have gone to the Orient at a certain time. For some reason Soret assumes that he ruled in 268. This hypothesis has to be discarded since both ibn al-Athīr and ibn Idhāri mention that the man, who had indeed been governor of Sicily in 257, was killed in 258.<sup>2</sup> A second suggestion made by Soret was that Aḥmad ibn Ya‘qūb belonged to a heretical group called al-Ya‘qūbiyah, which had its center not far from Mosul, at a place called

<sup>1</sup> Soret in *RNB* (1854), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, V, p. 364; ibn Idhāri, ed. Colin and Levi-Provençal, I, p. 115.

Marj, and which in 273 fought against ibn abi al-Sāj.<sup>1</sup> I have been unable to find anything out about the leaders of this sect at that time, but I wonder whether Defrémery, and following him, Soret, did not confuse a small heretical group<sup>2</sup> with the Christian sect of the Jacobites called *al-Ya'qūbiyah* by Arabic authors, which was certainly represented in the area of Mosul.<sup>3</sup> There is little doubt that they did not strike coins as a group and, while it is not impossible to imagine that Ṭulūnid coins were struck in the area of Mosul, the Soret coins cannot be taken as evidence for it. I have not been able to discover another man by the name of Aḥmad ibn Ya'qūb who could conceivably have been involved in Ṭulūnid politics. Just as in the case of the other copper coins struck under the Ṭulūnid regime this one should perhaps be considered as originating from the *thughūr* and Aḥmad ibn Ya'qūb may have been one of the many commanders who at one time or another took the field against the Byzantines.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Athir, VI, p. 61; M. Defrémery, "Sur la famille des Sadjides," *Journal Asiatique*, 4ème série, vol. IX (1847), p. 434.

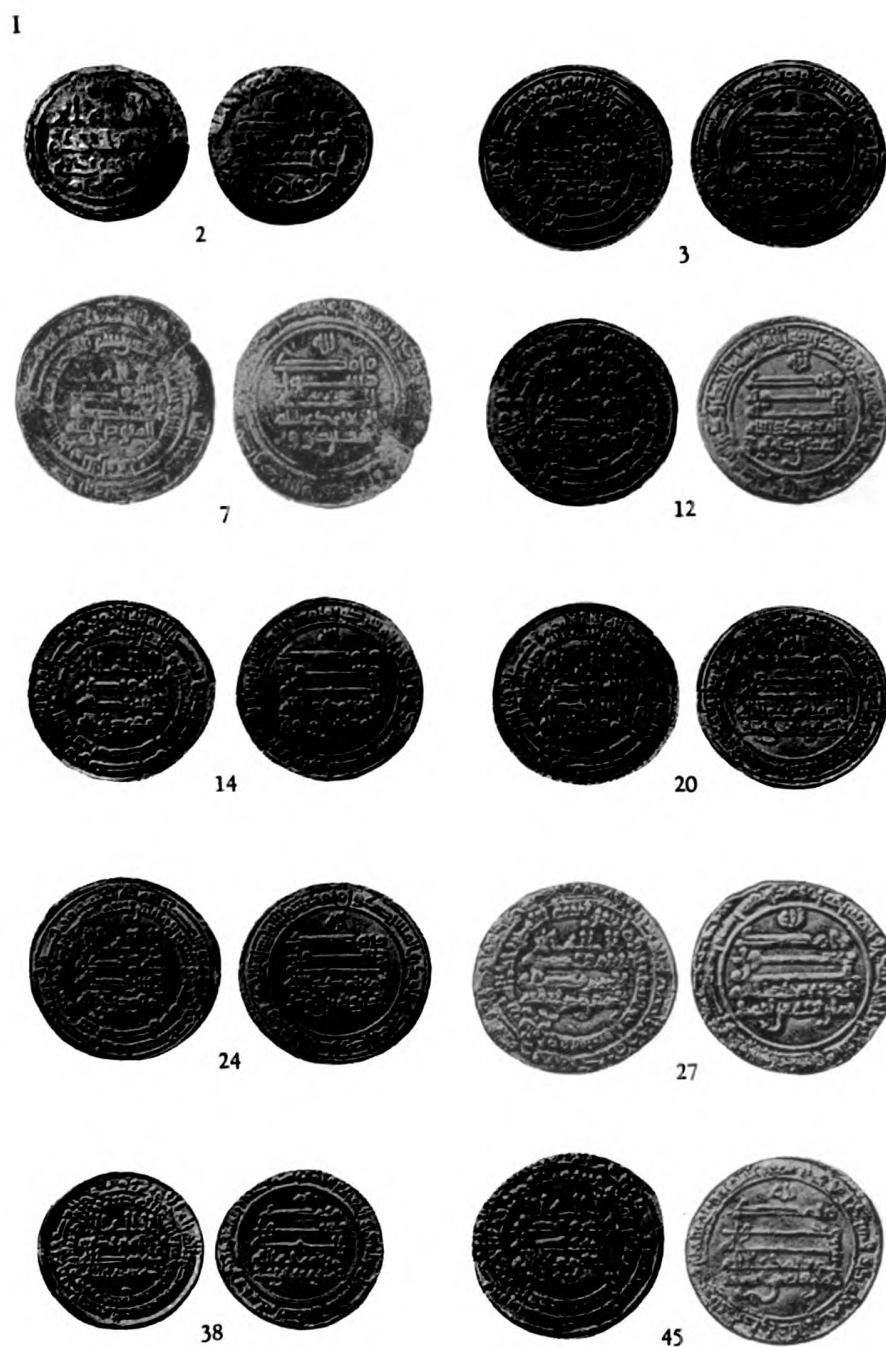
<sup>2</sup> 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādi, *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, tr. K. C. Seelye (New York, 1920), pp. 45-6.

<sup>3</sup> Yāqūt, II, p. 689.





## PLATES



# COINAGE OF THE TŪLŪNIDS



49



52



57



62



69



70



72



75



## COINAGE OF THE ṬULŪNIDS



III



80



81



89



90



94



96



Miṣr 258 H.



# COINAGE OF THE TŪLŪNIDS

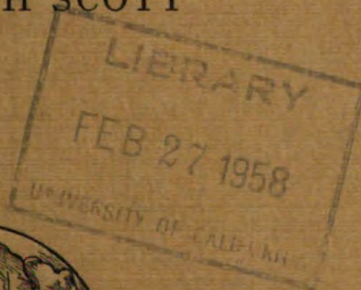
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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS ,

No. 140

# COUNTERFEITING IN COLONIAL CONNECTICUT

By KENNETH SCOTT



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
NEW YORK

1957



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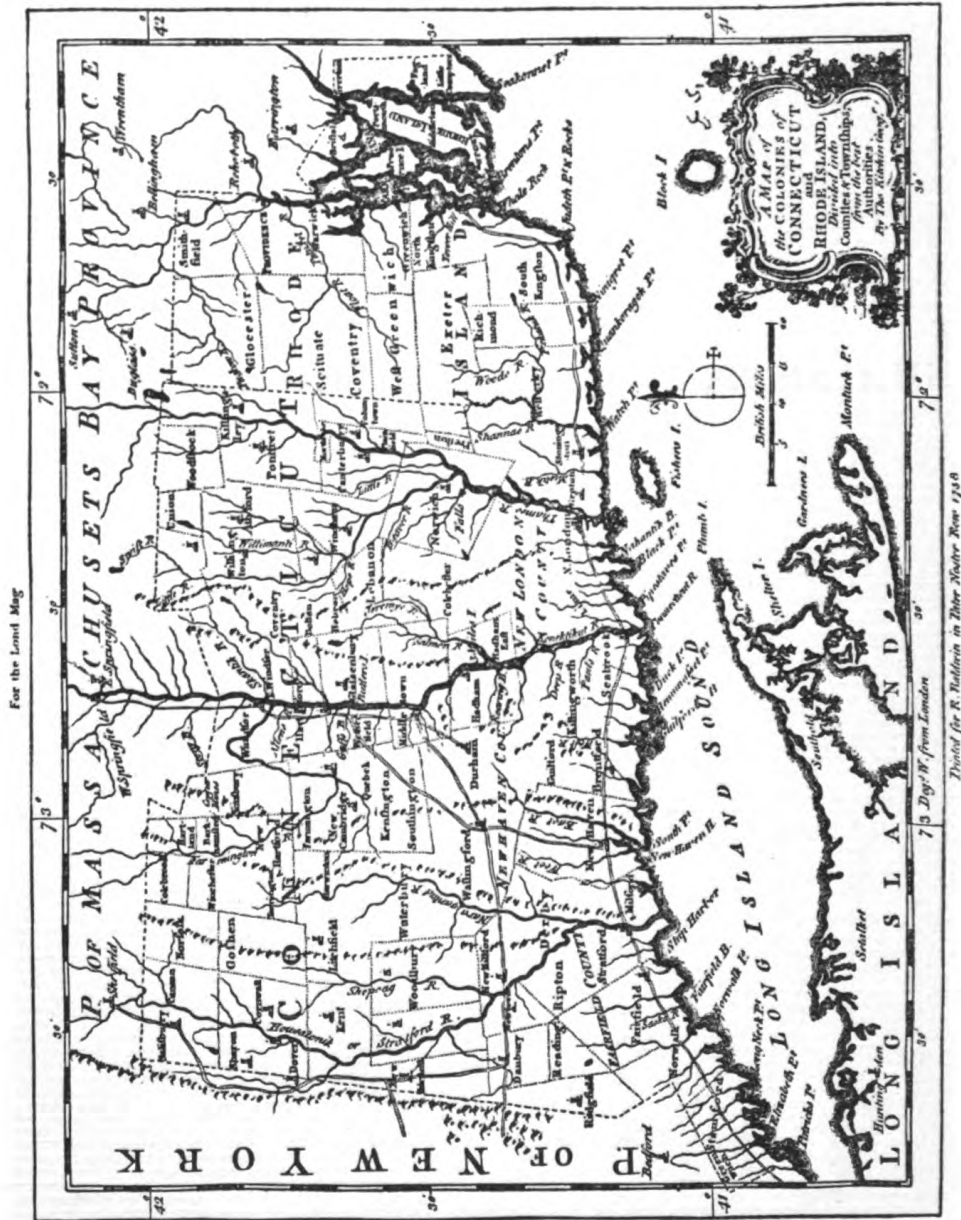
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# Counterfeiting in Colonial Connecticut

BY  
KENNETH SCOTT



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
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1957

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**PRINTED IN GERMANY  
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*To*  
**MY FRIEND**  
**STEPHEN G. C. ENSKO**





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## PREFACE

The writing of this volume has been made possible through the kindness of the staffs of the Connecticut State Library, of the Library of the New-York Historical Society, of the American History Room of the New York Public Library and of the Yale University Library. The author wishes to express his special thanks to Mr. James Brewster, State Librarian of Connecticut, to Mrs. Marjorie Case Hartman and Mr. Wesley G. Dennen of the Connecticut State Library. The author is deeply indebted to Dr. James J. Heslin, Assistant Director of the New York Historical Society, and Miss Constance D. Sherman of the American Museum of Natural History, who read the galley proof and to Aurelia G. Scott, who read page proof of this book.

Previous works dealing with counterfeiting in the Colonial Period either have not covered the entire period in a province or have been based on records which were incomplete because of the loss or destruction of documents and records. In Connecticut, however, the minute books of the Superior Court in the Eighteenth Century have been preserved, as well as great quantities of papers relating to counterfeiting cases. As a result a fairly complete picture of counterfeiting in this colony can be given, and in many instances the false or altered bills are still preserved in the Connecticut State Library.

This book is intended primarily for numismatists but it is hoped that it will also be useful for economists, historians and genealogists. The arrangement of the chapters by periods of years has been one of convenience. The subject matter, concerned as it is with many individuals, may sometimes be found monotonous. It is hoped, however, that some characters and incidents will be sufficiently entertaining to enliven the pages of a work which, to a considerable degree, must of necessity be one of reference.



# I

## ROBERT FENTON AND HIS TESTIMONY

Before the printing of bills of credit the currency of Connecticut consisted of Massachusetts silver pieces, which passed at the value with which they were stamped, and "Sevil Pillar, or Mexico Pieces of Eight, of full Seventeen Penny weight," which passed at six shillings per piece, and half pieces, quarter pieces and one *real* pieces. It was formally enacted that such money be current in the colony, "Provided always, That such of the said Coynes, as pass by tale, be not diminished by Washing, Clipping, Rounding, Filing or Scaling."<sup>1</sup> The proviso would indicate that evil-minded persons were in the habit of thus diminishing the value of the coinage to their own profit or that the authorities anticipated such practices.

The first recorded case of counterfeiting in Connecticut is that of Robert Fenton in 1699. He had been in difficulties on the same score in Philadelphia in 1683, when he, Samuel Buckley and Charles Pickering were arrested on suspicion of counterfeiting Spanish coin. Fenton and Buckley, who claimed that their mint was located outside of Pennsylvania, pleaded guilty, while Pickering was tried and convicted. Fenton had made the dies and had taken part in the coining, but, as he was only a servant, he was merely sentenced to sit in the stocks for one hour.<sup>2</sup> Apparently at some time after his punishment Fenton removed to Connecticut, where he had a shop, presumably for metal work. He was not, however, satisfied with legitimate profits, and on January 13, 1699, he was brought before William Pitkin, assistant. Pitkin examined him closely, asking him first if he had

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Laws of His Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New-England* (New London: Timothy Green, 1715), p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania* (N.Y.: The American Numismatic Society, 1955), p. 3.

any false money, to which Fenton replied in the negative. When asked if he had any money, he admitted that he possessed one piece of eight, a half piece, two shillings, and eight pence, all of which he showed, denying that he had any other coin. At this Pitkin had him searched by a constable, who found in one of Fenton's pockets five pieces of eight, three half joes and one eight pence, all of which were judged to be false.<sup>3</sup>

Fenton then decided to make a clean breast of all he knew about the making of false Spanish and New England money. His declaration before three assistants, William Pitkin, Samuel Willy and Caleb Stanly, and John Haynes, a justice of the peace, was as follows: in the summer of 1698 he had been employed by Mr. John Potterfield, and the two men together had made about twenty pounds of "bitts" out of pieces of eight (about one shilling's weight of alloy was put in each piece of eight and of eight pieces of eight from fourteen to sixteen bits were struck) and likewise thirty or forty pieces of eight, each with two shillings' weight of alloy in it. Fenton received from Potterfield one pence for making each piece of eight and half the profit from the bits.<sup>4</sup>

Another person named by Fenton was John Tedman of Long Island, who induced Fenton to make stamps and tools for coining pieces of eight, half pieces, and bits, and together they struck some false money. Tedman paid him for his help with what he said was money of his own (Tedman's) making, and Fenton found that it wanted about half the weight of good coin. Later on, in 1698, about six weeks before Fenton's arrest, Tedman came to his shop and desired him to make stamps for dollars, which Fenton refused to do. Tedman said that he had one hundred and fifty pounds of Arabian metal to make up into money for a privateer about Southold. Fenton refused to help but did promise to call on him at Long Island in April or May and to fetch over ore and coal from Pennsylvania.

<sup>3</sup> Crimes and Misdemeanors (manuscript in the Connecticut State Library; this will henceforth be cited as C. & M.), I, 218, Fenton's examination, which was owned in court on May 18, 1699.

<sup>4</sup> The term bit normally meant one *real*; if Fenton made sixteen bits out of eight pieces of eight (equivalent to 64 *reales*), then he was using the term bit for pieces of four *reales* or half dollars.

Next Fenton mentioned John Hollam of Stonington, who, he said, met him at the smithy of James Dane in Stonington and spoke of ore and mines; yet he did not directly implicate Hollam in counterfeiting activities. Not so, however, in the case of Mr. Hornbuckle of Northampton, who, according to Fenton, called on him in the spring of 1698, spoke of metals and showed him a piece of eight. When Fenton said he thought it a good one, Hornbuckle said there was no silver in it but that he had cast it from block tin and copper mixed. Hornbuckle explained how he had cast it and stated that he had put off a considerable number of such counterfeit pieces by himself or through his landlord and others.

Finally Fenton confessed that he had made some stamps or tools for one Messenger, a "joyner" of Boston -- he thought his name was Thomas -- where for about seven or eight years past he had kept his shop at the south corner of the "Scoole Lane."<sup>5</sup>

Fenton's examination was owned in court on May 18, 1699, but it is not recorded what punishment he received or whether others were then prosecuted. It was doubtless as a result of the Fenton affair that the General Assembly in May, 1699, resolved

"that it is the opinion of the Governour, Councill and Representatives in Generall Court assembled, That if any person be found guiltye of attempting and practising, the counterfeiting or clipping, rounding, filing or otherwise debasing any of the monies and coins currant in this Colonie, that it (is) in the power of the justices at their sessions (by virtue of the laws now in force in this Colonie) to bind such person (being thereof lawfully convicted) to good behaviour with sufficient sureties by the discretion of the justices before whome such delinquent shall be lawfully convicted; and if such delinquent shall not procure such surety, then may the justices comit such person to the comon gaole there to remain untill he shall be delivered, according to order of lawe."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Robert C. Winthrop Collection (in the Connecticut State Library), III, 350a-350b and C. & M., I, 217a-217b.

<sup>6</sup> *Colonial Records of Connecticut* (Hartford: Press of Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1868), IV, p. 290. This work will henceforth be cited as *Col. Rec. Conn.*



## II

### EBENEZER SEAMORE AND HIS ASSOCIATES

Early in the eighteenth century a new and fertile field was opened to counterfeiters. As Roger Wolcott put it, "in 1702, the Massachusetts put out bills of credit to pay their public debts; this was followed by the other New England governments. Connecticut came into it in 1709."<sup>1</sup> The Connecticut authorities had had a taste of what they might expect to befall their paper money, for on August 10, 1704, at Stonington they captured Thomas Odell, who had been concerned in forging the twenty shilling bills of Massachusetts and for whose capture the governor of that province had offered a reward of £30.<sup>2</sup> The criminal promptly broke jail and fled to Philadelphia, where he was taken up and forwarded to Boston. There he was finally delivered into the hands of the law, after having once escaped and been recaptured at Newport while in transit. He was tried on November 6 at the Superior Court of Judicature in Boston, was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £300 and costs and to spend one year in prison. Nine years later he was again in the Boston jail on the charge of counterfeiting but escaped and apparently was not retaken despite the offer of a reward of £30 for his capture.<sup>3</sup>

To protect its new bills against the machinations of such rogues as Odell the Connecticut Assembly in May, 1710, passed a law to this effect:

Be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That such person or persons as shall be convicted before the courts of

<sup>1</sup> "Memoir Relating to Connecticut," *Connecticut Historical Society Collections* 3 (Hartford: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1895), p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> Richard LeBaron Bowen, *Rhode Island Colonial Money and Its Counterfeiting* (Providence: Society of Colonial Wars, 1942), pp. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 and Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1953), pp. 11-12.

assistants of counterfeiting any of the bills of credit created by the aforesaid acts, or confirmed, ratified and made good by this present act, shall pay all damages that shall accrue thereby, to be adjudged and awarded by the said court, upon conviction as aforesaid, and suffer six months imprisonment, and such other penalty, or corporal punishment, as the said court (respect being had to the degrees of such crime,) shall judge meet, or inflict; one moiety of the said fine to the publick treasury aforesaid, and the other moiety to him or them as shall in the said court sue for the same and prosecute his suit to effect.<sup>4</sup>

The first person to suffer the penalties prescribed by this law was Ebenezer Seamore of Farmington. On June 10, 1710, Joseph Shepard of Hartford showed to William Pitkin, assistant, a Connecticut 3s. bill altered to 10s., which he had lately received from Seamore. Pitkin at once issued a warrant for Seamore's arrest, and the same day the suspected counterfeiter was taken up and brought before Pitkin, who proceeded to examine him. The prisoner pretended innocence, though admitting freely that he had paid out a 10s. bill to Shepard the previous day. He explained that he had lately received bills of the treasurer, of Thomas Burd, of George Kilborn, of George Stillman, of Constable Sam Woodruff and of Josiah Woolcott. He admitted that he had tried to pass one 10s. bill to Mr. Dod, who said it was counterfeit, and that he then showed it to John Woodruff, who thought it genuine. It was possible, he granted, that this was the same bill that he paid to Mr. Shepard.

The next day, however, Seamore was examined again and then broke down, making the following confession: he had been at expense in court and, being in want of money, he decided to try his hand at counterfeiting. Thereupon he approached his cousin, John Woodruff of Great Swamp in Farmington, who at first cautioned him against the business and expressed the opinion that it was a cheat. Finally, however, they went to work, turning a 2s. bill into a 40s., a 5s. into a 40s., a 2s. into a 20s. and a number of other small bills into 10s. each. Woodruff, it seems, altered only two or three bills, then became

<sup>4</sup> *Col. Rec. Comm.*, V, 158.

penitent, tried to dissuade Seamore from passing further altered notes and put off none himself. Seamore acknowledged himself alone to be at fault in the matter and added that he had passed the following counterfeits: one of 10s. to Mr. Stillman, a 10s. and a 20s. to the wife of John Curtiss, Sr., one of 10s. to Thomas Moore, one of 40s. to Mrs. Allyn, one of 40s. to Jonathan Bidwell, one of 10s. to Captain Williamson, one of 10s. to Joseph Shepard and one of 10s. to Symon Chapman (PLATES I-II), while he still had at home one of 10s.

Pitkin at once caused John Woodruff to be apprehended on June 18. The next day the prisoner made a full confession, stating that sometime in the spring Seamore came to him and showed him two bills which he, Seamore, had altered "when he was a dressing Shingles." The two men then tried to alter a 10s. bill to 20s. but could not make it do, whereupon Seamore tore out the figures he had written and put off the bill to Mr. Judd. Later on Seamore came again to Woodruff's house and, learning from Mrs. Woodruff that her husband was in the lot, Seamore came to him there with a number of small bills on which he had already scraped out the figures, and the men made a 40s. bill out of a 10s. note. Still later Woodruff remonstrated with his cousin about the counterfeiting and refused to have any further part in the business.

As it appeared to the county court that one or more of the counterfeited bills had been burnt by Zachariah Seamore of Hartford, Zachariah was summoned and questioned about the matter. He admitted that on the night of June 17, at the desire of his brother, Richard Seamore, he had gone to the house of Ebenezer, searched among his bills of credit and, finding one that was counterfeit, burnt it.

On June 24 warrants were issued to summon the witnesses against Seamore at the court of assistants to be held in Hartford on Monday, June 26, at ten in the morning. These evidences were Jonathan Hollister, the wife of John Curtis, Sr., George Stillman, all of Wethersfield, John Hollister, Jr., of "Glassenbury," Symon Chapman and his wife, Thomas Moore, Widow Elizabeth Allyn, all of Windsor, Zachary Sandford of Hartford, Mary Wells and Edward

Dod. In addition Zachariah Seamore was required to attend to answer to whatever might be objected against him relating to the bills of credit.

At the session of the court the Queen's Attorney charged Ebenezer Seamore, husbandman, with counterfeiting and passing. Seamore pleaded not guilty but was tried, convicted, and, on the following day, was sentenced to spend six months in prison, to pay a fine of £25, costs of £14/14/7 and prison fees and charges, while the keeper of the jail was instructed to secure him in irons. John Woodruff, who volunteered to turn Queen's evidence, was accepted as such, admitted his guilt, stated that he had burned the two bills he altered. Orders were given that he be not indicted, and he was discharged on payment of costs of £6/15/- and prison fees and charges. Zacharias Seamore was let off with the payment of costs of 50s.<sup>5</sup>

Ebenezer Seamore found the Hartford jail anything but comfortable and his fine and costs more than he cared to pay, so after a few months he petitioned the Assembly to release him and to abate his fine, requests which were denied on October 10.<sup>6</sup> As it was, his punishment was not severe enough to lead him to mend his ways, as will be seen later.

Naturally persons to whom he had passed altered bills had suffered loss, and on March 9, 1711, the governor and council ordered the secretary, Caleb Stanly, to reimburse some individuals out of the fine paid by Seamore. They were Richard Lord, who was to receive 40s. for a 2s. bill altered to 40s. (PLATE III) and Mr. Eliot, who was granted 10s. for a 2s. bill altered to 10s.<sup>7</sup> Similar reimbursements were made by Stanly on March 27, 1711, as follows: to Elizabeth Wilson for a 2s. bill altered to 10s., to Symon Chapman for a 3s. bill made into a 10s., to Thomas Moore for a 3s. altered to 10s., to Joseph Shepard for a 3s. bill altered to a 10s., to Zachariah Sandford

<sup>5</sup> The evidence in this case is found in C. & M., II, 32-47 and C. & M. (counterfeiting, unbound), III, 91, 92; Records of the Court of Assistants and Superior Court 1687 to 1715, 168-170.

<sup>6</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.*, V, p. 174.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, V, p. 199.

for a 2s. bill altered to a 10s. (PLATE IV), to Elizabeth Allyn for a 5s. bill altered to 40s., to John Curtis, Sr., for a 3s. bill altered to 10s. and a 2s. bill altered to 20s., to Elizabeth Marshall for a 2s. bill altered to 10s. and to Captain Joseph Whiting for a 2s. bill altered to 10s.<sup>8</sup> Joseph Shepard not only recovered his ten shillings but also in October, 1712, was voted by the Assembly a reward of £3 for informing against Seamore.<sup>9</sup> Of the notes altered by Seamore six have been preserved, those passed to Lord, Moore, Shepard, Whiting, Sandford,<sup>10</sup> and Symon Chapman.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> C. & M., I, 46b.

<sup>9</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.*, V, p. 357.

<sup>10</sup> C. & M., II, 38-42.

<sup>11</sup> In the collection of Mr. Harley Freeman of Ormond Beach, Florida. The bill, as is indicated on the back, was passed by Seamore to Sarah, the wife of Symon Chapman of Windsor, and she was reimbursed the ten shillings on March 27, 1711, by Secretary Stanly.

### III

#### THE SECOND DECADE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Counterfeiting and altering of bills of credit of the Colony of Connecticut were forbidden by law but there was no such provision with respect to the paper money of neighboring colonies. In May, 1711, the Assembly took steps to rectify this situation, and a law was passed to the following effect:

Be it Declared and Enacted by the Governour, Council and Representatives, in General Court Assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That whosoever shall presume to Forge, Counterfeit or Utter, any Bill or Bills (Knowing the same to be False and Counterfeit) of the Tenour, or in Imitation of any of the Bills of Credit of this Colony, or of the Bills of Credit of the Provinces of the *Massachusetts-Bay, New-Hampshire, New-York, Rhoad-Island*, and the *New-Jersies*, that now are, or hereafter shall be, by the Law Established, either in this Colony, or either of the aforesaid Provinces; or that shall Counsel, Advise, Procure or in any ways Assist in the Forging, Counterfeiting, Imprinting, Stamping or Signing, of any such False Bills; or Engrave any Plate, or Make any other Instrument to be used for that purpose, every person or persons so Offending, being thereof Convicted before any of the Superiour Courts in this Colony, shall suffer Six Months Imprisonment, and such other Fine, Penalty or Corporal Punishment, as the said Court (Respect being had to the degree of such Crime) shall Judge meet or inflict: The said Fine to be to the Publick Treasury of this Colony.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That whosoever shall make Discovery, and give Information of such Vile, Wicked Practises, of Making, or Knowingly putting off any False and Counterfeit Bills, so that the person or persons guilty thereof, be Tendered to Justice, and Convicted; every such Informer shall have and receive, as a Reward for his good Service therein, the Sum of *Twenty Pounds*, to be Ordered out of the Publick Treasury; and to be Re-paid into the Treasury out of the

Offenders Goods or Estate, so far as that will extend, by Order of the Court where the Conviction shall be.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every person Convicted of Altering or Increasing, the Sum of Figures set and expressed in any of the aforesaid Bills of Credit; or Forging or Counterfeiting, any Name, Hand, Stamp or other private Mark, that are, or may hereafter be Ordered to be made or set thereon, shall be Punished for either of the Offences aforesaid, in the same manner as is provided by Law, for the Punishment of Forgery; and be further Sentenced by the Court before whom the Conviction is, to pay Treble Damages to the Parties Injured thereby.

And it is further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Last Paragraph of an Act made May the Eleventh, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ten; Entituled, *An Act for the better Regulating and giving a more Effectual Currency to the Bills of Publick Credit*; (which Paragraph respects the Punishment of such as Counterfeit the Bills of Credit on this Colony) be Repealed; and it is hereby Repealed accordingly.<sup>1</sup>

*William Barker and Samuel Munn*

Early in January, 1712, William Barker and Samuel Munn, who were thought to have come together from Okinoke to Milford, were at Mr. Richard Bryant's house, where Munn paid the reckoning. Both men passed altered bills of credit, and on January 8 a complaint against Barker was made to John Alling, assistant, at Guilford, who at nine o'clock that evening ordered a hue and cry after Barker, who was said to be a trader from Rhode Island and was thus described: "of red hair, a well made portly man, black wigg, light collour'd loose Coat, dark Colour'd straight Coat, speckled vest dark Colour'd stock Stockings washt leather Breeches who is Charged with ye Crime of Counterfeiting or altering a five Shillings bill of this Colony to five pounds . . ."

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Laws of His Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New-England* (New-London: Timothy Green, 1715), pp. 169-170 and *Col. Rec. Conn.* V, pp. 241-242.

The object of the hue and cry was apprehended at Lyme the next day and was taken before Captain Ely, J.P., of that town, who, after examining the prisoner, ordered the constable of Saybrook to take him to New Haven. On the road Barker broke away but was soon retaken and brought again before Justice Ely. The magistrate now ordered the captive's portmanteau searched, and in Barker's pocket-book were found three counterfeit bills, one of 3s. made into £5, one of 3s. altered to 20s., and one of 2s. raised to 10s. (PLATES V-VI).

This paper money was sealed up by the justice, and the criminal was sent off again under guard to New Haven, where he was examined by Warham Mather, J. P. It was discovered that Barker had stopped at a tavern in Killingworth, at Eastchester and at the house of Abraham Chanker, to whom he had passed a counterfeit 10s. bill to pay a reckoning of about 1/8. He likewise had uttered to Tavernkeeper Stiles in Milford a counterfeit 10s. Connecticut bill, no. 3931, which is preserved in the Connecticut State Library.<sup>2</sup>

Justice Mather and John Alling committed their prisoner to the jail in New Haven on January 11 but three days later, as was reported by Sheriff Joshua Hotchkiss, Barker broke prison and made his escape despite a vigorous pursuit, in the course of which three men set out from Branford in the hope of overtaking the fugitive, Seth Morse and John Hoadly to Guilford and Jacob Carter to Killingworth, all under the supervision of Constable Isaac Foot.<sup>3</sup>

Barker's acquaintance, Samuel Munn of Woodbury, was not as fortunate as his companion. At Milford on January 7, 1712, Samuel Eells, assistant, acting on a complaint lodged by Samuel Stone of that town, issued a warrant to Deputy Sheriff Gideon Buckingham to arrest Munn. Stone charged that on the morning of January 7 at the house of Edward Wilkinson in Milford Munn offered a Connecticut

<sup>2</sup> Superior Court Files (manuscripts in the Connecticut State Library), New Haven, 1712. These Files will henceforth be cited as S. C. Files, followed by the name of the county.

<sup>3</sup> The sources for this case are: Records, Court of Assistants and Superior Court 1687-1715, p. 203; Records, Court of Assistants and Superior Courts 1710-1749, p. 36; S.C. Files, New Haven, 1712.



5s. bill altered to £5 to Wilkinson, who refused it, and then to Samuel Clark, Jr. About nine or ten o'clock John and Samuel Stone arrived and together with Wilkinson pointed out to Munn that the bill was altered. Munn told them that he had received it from Samuel Hawley, Sr., of Stratford and that he would go at once to Stratford to induce Hawley to take back the bill.

Munn was apprehended the same day that the warrant was issued and he was examined before Justice Eells and Jonathan Law, J.P. At first he told the magistrates that he got the counterfeit bill from "old Mr. Samll Hauley," who, he explained, owed him £5 and sent the money by Jonathan Stiles to Francis Stiles, who delivered it to him (Munn). He intended, in case he could not pass the bill in Milford, to destroy or burn it. Finally, however, he confessed that he had bought the bill for 40s. from a stranger from Long Island at Mr. Richard Bryant's house.

Munn was bound over to the next Superior Court to be held at New Haven on the second Tuesday in March but was released on bail provided by Daniel Munn and Ephraim Warner. His sureties brought him into court, where he was indicted for having on January 5 altered a 2s. Connecticut bill to 10s. and passed it to John Camp of Milford; also for having on January 7 altered a 5s. Connecticut bill to £5 (PLATE VII) and passed it to Samuel Clark. The witnesses against him were Sergeant John Camp, Edward Elberton, mariner, Edward Wilkinson, Samuel Clark, John Stone and Gamaliel Prime. He pleaded not guilty, was tried, convicted and sentenced to be imprisoned for six months and to pay a fine of £45. The informer against him was granted the reward of £20 established by law.<sup>4</sup>

Barker, doubtless encouraged by his escape, continued his career of crime but on November 15, 1717, made the mistake of passing a counterfeit 20s. bill of Rhode Island to Captain John Raymond, Jr., in Norwalk. Raymond quickly detected the cheat and sent his son

<sup>4</sup> S.C. Files, New Haven, March, 1712; Records, Court of Assistants and Superior Court 1687-1715, p. 227; Records, Court of Assistants and Superior Courts 1710-1749, pp. 31-32, 122.

after Barker, while he himself hastened to make a complaint to Major Peter Burr, J.P., of Fairfield.

The suspected counterfeiter was soon seized and, when he was searched, two more false 20s. Rhode Island bills were found on him, as well as three 5s. Connecticut bills, a half crown Connecticut bill, three 10s. Boston bills, one 10s. Rhode Island bill and one 5s. and one 1s. Boston bill. At his examination before Major Burr on November 16 he said that he was from Rhode Island, where he had a father and brothers. He had, he admitted, been in jail in New York and his father had sent £70 there to redeem him. About five years before, he confessed, he had escaped from the jail in New Haven in order to save his life, as he was like to freeze to death. He added that he had not been to Rhode Island for thirteen months and that he came last from the Widow Mead's at Horseneck on Long Island. As for the counterfeit bills, he claimed that he had received two of the 20s. bills from Charles Congrove at the Oyster Pond on Long Island and that he had changed silver with a Hartford man for two 20s. bills. He planned, he said, to obtain money from his father to buy land for a settlement in the "New Country."

Justice Burr was not favorably impressed, especially when a bill, not quite finished, was found in Barker's pocket, so he ordered the prisoner committed to the jail in Fairfield. On the night of November 20, however, Barker broke out but this time was recaptured and returned to prison on November 23 by John Bagly and Lieutenant John Taylor. Now he was confined in irons.

At the Superior Court held in Fairfield on December 11, 1717, Barker, described as late of Newport, Rhode Island, was indicted for having, about November 15 at Norwalk, counterfeited four 20s. Rhode Island bills and for having uttered one of them. He pleaded not guilty, was tried, convicted and at the next sessions of the court on February 5, 1718, was sentenced forthwith to be given thirty lashes on the naked body and again, during the first week in March, to receive another thirty stripes. In addition he was to be imprisoned for six months and to pay costs of £14/0/4. The informer had some

difficulty in obtaining his reward, as well as his 20s. and the treble damages due him by law. He therefore memorialized the Assembly in May, 1718, and was granted the reward of £20.<sup>5</sup>

*Shubael Rowly, Jr.*

At the Superior Court held in New London on March 25, 1712, Shubael Rowly, Jr., of Colchester was supposed to appear. In the latter part of November, 1711, he had altered three Connecticut bills, one of 2s. to 20s., one of 3s. to 30s. and one of 5s. to 50s. The first he passed to Thomas Atwell in New Haven, the second to Sergeant Strickland and the third to Richard Christophers. Christophers at once detected the cheat and bound Rowly over to appear at the next Superior Court. Shubael Rowly, Sr., and Joshua Hempstead provided bail in the amount of £40. The following day, according to Christophers, young Rowly confessed that he had altered the bills and had passed two of them, of which he had taken up one and was desirous of taking up the other.

At the March session of the Superior Court Rowly was called three times but neither he nor his sureties appeared. He was, however, indicted, his bail was declared forfeited, and a warrant was issued for his arrest. Sometime later, probably in September, John Reed, the Queen's Attorney, recovered from Shubael Rowly, Sr., £36 of the forfeited bond and, apparently because of a deal between Reed and the father of young Rowly, the Assembly in October, 1712, was persuaded to pass a resolution that Shubael Rowly, Jr., should not be further prosecuted on his indictment. As Christophers pointed out, the Assembly seems to have considered the answering of the bond as equivalent to the miscreant's conviction. Christophers was, as the informer, entitled to the reward of £20, which the Court advised him

<sup>5</sup> C. & M. II, 147-148a; C.C. Files, Fairfield, 1712-1719, A-F; S.C. Records I, Dec., 1717, Febr., 1718, March, 1718; *Col. Rec. Conn.* VI, p. 58.

to seek of the Assembly and which that body finally granted him in May, 1713.<sup>6</sup>

*Joseph Elderkin*

Jonas Hambleton and Paul Wentworth both of New London, and Joseph Elderkin of Norwich were brought before the Superior Court held in New London in September, 1712, on suspicion of having passed an altered Connecticut bill but it was discovered that the first two were not involved and they were cleared by proclamation, each being ordered to pay costs of £5/11/9. Elderkin, however, was indicted for uttering a 2/6 Connecticut bill altered to 20s., to which charge he pleaded not guilty. He was tried, convicted and sentenced to spend six months in prison and to pay a fine of £15 and costs of £10/18/6. Paul Wentworth, who had informed against Elderkin, in open court requested that his costs and those of Hambleton be deducted from the reward of £20 due him as informer, and the court ordered Elderkin to pay £20 to be turned over to Wentworth.<sup>7</sup>

Elderkin, who was in poor health and feared the consequences of spending the winter in what was doubtless an unheated jail, petitioned the Assembly for "the abatement of his imprisonment," and in October it was voted that "if the petitioner shall give bail to any of the judges of the superiour court to render himself to him or any of the said judges upon command at any time within a twelve month after the session of this Court, the time yet to come of his imprisonment, according to the sentence given against him, shall commence when the prison and weather will allow him to be imprisoned without danger of hazarding his health."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Records, Court of Assistants and Superior Court 1687-1715, pp. 242, 244; Records, Court of Assistants and Superior Court 1710-1749, pp. 54, 59, 73; C. & M. II, 67a, 67b; *Col. Rec. Conn.* V, pp. 340-341, 345, 356, 380.

<sup>7</sup> Records, Court of Assistants and Superior Court 1687-1715, pp. 260-261; Records, Court of Assistants and Superior Court 1710-1749, pp. 96-97.

<sup>8</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* V, p. 355.

*Timothy Parkhurst*

About the beginning of March, 1713, Timothy Parkhurst of Plainfield was brought before Justice Williams of that town on suspicion of counterfeiting bills of Massachusetts and passing. When the prisoner was on his way to jail, he fled from the constable and made good his escape. The governor and council, meeting in New London on March 4, ordered that a proclamation be published offering a reward and reasonable charges to anyone who should take the fugitive and bring him before any justice of the peace in the colony.<sup>9</sup> The proclamation brought results, for Parkhurst was captured and then indicted at the Superior Court in New London on March 23, 1714, for having passed two counterfeit Massachusetts bills, one of 15s. and one of 10s. He pleaded not guilty, was tried, convicted and sentenced to be imprisoned for six months and to pay a fine of £35 and costs of £10/15/5.<sup>10</sup>

Parkhurst, like Elderkin, was desirous of selecting a favorable season in which to serve his sentence in the New London jail. He therefore petitioned the Assembly at its May session, 1714, for the abatement of his imprisonment, and his request was granted on the same terms stipulated with regard to Elderkin. Hence his term in jail could commence when the prison and weather entailed no hazard to his health. In his case, however, there was a proviso that he must pay the fine and costs before he could be released.<sup>11</sup>

The altering of Connecticut bills from a lower to a higher denomination "by some evil persons" and the "considerable damages" suffered on that account by various individuals caused the Assembly in May, 1713, to vote that £20,000 in bills be emitted and used by the treasurer for one and a half years after May 14, 1713, to redeem the bills outstanding, holders of which were to be notified by proclamation to bring them to the treasurer to be exchanged.<sup>12</sup> Following upon the

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* V, p. 362.

<sup>10</sup> Records, Court of Assistants and Superior Court 1687-1715, p. 333; Records, Court of Assistants and Superior Court 1710-1749, p. 233.

<sup>11</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* V, p. 443.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* V, p. 378.

action of the Assembly, the governor and council at a meeting in New London on June 11, 1713, ordered that the plates formerly used for printing bills should be altered "for the preventing of such cheating practises" and that the following devices should be put on the plates: on the 2s. a dove, on the 2/6 a cock, on the 3s. a squirrel, on the 5s. a fox, on the 10s. a lamb, on the 20s. a deer, on the 40s. a horse and on the £5 a lion.<sup>13</sup>

Almost a year later, at a meeting held in New London on June 2, 1714, the governor and council had further cause for concern. Richard Christophers laid before them a 40s. bill of the first emission of Connecticut which bore the date of July 12, 1709, only and not the additional date of May, 1713, "over the names of the committee signing, as in all the late emitted bills." The bill in question was examined and, on comparison with a true bill, was found to be taken from a false plate, as was shown by the bad cut and unevenness of the letters making up the body of the counterfeit bill. The council at once resolved that a proclamation be issued signifying the cheat and instructing all holders of Connecticut bills of the first emission to take them to the treasurer and have them exchanged by him for bills of the same value of those lately emitted.<sup>14</sup>

Even the treasurer, Captain Joseph Whiting, had been deceived by some counterfeit bills, for William Pitkin and Joseph Talcott, a committee for drawing out of the treasury and destroying the dead stock of bills that had been drawn in by the constables in several rates, in June, 1714, came upon six 5s. bills altered to 40s., five half crown (2/6) bills altered to 40s. and four 3s. bills also altered to 40s. On June 26 they likewise drew out of the hands of Mrs. Mary Haynes of Hartford £975/3/–, in which sum they discovered two counterfeit 40s bills.<sup>15</sup>

The situation in 1717 was serious enough to warrant action by the Assembly. This body, by an act of October, 1714, had extended to

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* V, p. 387.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* V, p. 448.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* V, pp. 466, 475–476.

June 1, 1715, the time for exchanging bills of the emission of 1709. It now, in October, 1717, extended the time for exchange to May 15, 1718, after which date it was provided that the bills need not be accepted by creditors. In taking such action the Assembly noted that some persons had been negligent about bringing in the bills to have them exchanged by the treasurer, whereby opportunity had been given to evil-minded persons to practice cheats and forgeries by means of false plates and otherwise, all of which had proved and might still prove to be of great damage.<sup>16</sup>

In May of 1717 the Assembly had also passed an act "for the more Effectual preventing the Spreading or Passing of False, Altered, or Counterfeited Bills of Credit." The preamble read: "This Assembly considering the great Mischief Suffered both by the Publick and by particular Persons, by reason of the many Altered, False and Counterfeit Bills that are Passing among the People, notwithstanding the great Care which has been taken to Suppress all Evil Practices upon the said Bills." Then the text continues:

It is further Provided by this Assembly, and the Authority thereof, That when and so often as it shall happen, that any such False, Altered or Counterfeit Bills, shall be brought to the Treasurer of this Colony, or Offered to him in Payment of Rates, or to be Exchanged, he shall Secure them; and he is hereby Authorized to Seize and Retain them, entering the Name of the person in whose Possession the Bill or Bills were, on the Backside thereof.

And further, Every Assistant and Justice of the Peace in this Colony is hereby also Authorized and Impowred to Seize or take into his Custody every such Bill as aforesaid, which he shall See, Observe, or have Cognizance of, and the same to Retain, Entring on the backside thereof the Name of him from whom he takes the said Bill, and at his Discretion to Administer an Oath to him to Declare the person of whom he Received it, and to send

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* VI, pp. 30–31. As the bills of the emission of 1709 were not all in by July, 1718, the governor and council, meeting at Guilford, ordered that the treasurer and all officials appointed to receive public debts should take the 1709 bills in payment (*Col. Rec. Conn.* VI, pp. 66–67). The time limit for exchanging the bills was later extended to Nov. 1, 1719 (*Col. Rec. Conn.* VI, pp. 129–130.).

forth his Precept, or otherways to Cause the Person to come before him to be Examined in the Premises, and to proceed in his Inquiries after the Author of this Mischief as far as his Discretion will guide him.<sup>17</sup>

*Thomas Banks, John Andrews and the Greenman Gang*

One Connecticut bill, that of the denomination of 10s., had been counterfeited by the Greenman gang, which had secured the plate from Freeloove Lippencott, along with plates for bills of Rhode Island and Massachusetts. This ring of money makers included Captain Edward Greenman and his sons, Silas and Edward, Jr., all of Kingstown, Rhode Island, Joseph Atwood of Newport, Joseph Jones of Boston, Thomas Banks of Branford, Connecticut, and others. The three Greenmans were tried and convicted at Newport on November 28, 1718, and Connecticut sent Thomas Banks to testify against them.<sup>18</sup> On December 1 the father was sentenced to stand in the pillory and have his ears cropped and be whipped twenty-five lashes or pay £600 by January 1, 1719, and give bond with sureties in the amount of £700 to pay double damages for all bills that appeared to have been made from his plates. The sons received the same sentence, save that they were only to pay £300 each and give bond with sureties in the amount of £400 each to pay damages.<sup>19</sup>

The Governor of Connecticut and Council in New London on January 25, 1720, ordered that "the counterfeit ten shilling bill taken off Greenman's plate, which is in the files of the superiour court and upon which Banks was taken up and prosecuted,<sup>20</sup> be transmitted to Coll. Fitch at Boston, for a pattern to distinguish those bills from the true bills in exchanging the two hundred and fifty pounds committed to his care for that end." Colonel Fitch was also to be sent very

<sup>17</sup> *Acts and Laws of His Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New-England* (New-London: Timothy Green, 1715), p. 236; *Col. Rec. Conn.* VI, p. 62.

<sup>18</sup> Richard LeBaron Bowen, *op. cit.*, p. 39ff. Bowen gives the evidence in full.

<sup>19</sup> *The Boston News-Letter*, Dec. 29, 1718, p. 2. The paper commented: "The whole Country rejoices in the discovery and equity of the Sentence."

<sup>20</sup> Banks's indictment had been returned ignoramus by the Grand Jury.

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detailed information about the Connecticut paper money and likewise six bills of different denominations: a true 40s. bill of some of the former emissions; a 40s. bill from a counterfeit plate, which plate had never been found, while the counterfeits from it had not been known to be uttered for a considerable time; a true 10s. bill of the former emissions; it had a character on its face by which the false 10s. bill from Greenman's plate could easily be distinguished, as the counterfeit was of a paler ink than the true bill (It was pointed out that no counterfeits of any Connecticut bills by false plates had been discovered save these two, the 40s. bill and the 10s. bill struck from Greenman's plate.); a 10s. bill from Greenman's plate; a 3s. bill raised to 40s.; a 5s. bill altered to 40s. The memorandum to Colonel Fitch read: "There has been no late practice of this kind taken notice of here, nor anything of this nature attempted upon the bills of the later emission, which have the forms of living creatures on them."<sup>21</sup>

Two Connecticut men involved in passing Greenman's paper money were Thomas Banks and John Andrews (or Andross). Banks, who was a tailor of Branford, got into difficulties through carelessness. On Saturday, July 6, 1717, he lodged at the house of John Hill and early in the morning set out for Stonington. After his departure Hill's eleven-year-old daughter picked up a piece of paper that Banks had dropped and brought it to her father. It was a letter dated June 21, 1717, and signed by John Lovel. Inside was a counterfeit 10s. Connecticut bill which was neither numbered nor signed (PLATES IX-X). Lovel was a tailor, a servant for debt to a tailor in New London named Farrand, from whom he ran away, presumably a short time before or after Banks dropped the note. In the note Lovel asked his wife for eight or nine pounds, with which he wanted to pay Mr. Thomas Farrand in order that he might be released and come to join his wife and child.

On Thursday, July 11, John Austin and a fellow traveller named Aply stopped on their way from New London at Justice Hill's "in Naragansett country." Hill was not at home but his wife showed them

<sup>21</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* VI, pp. 167-168.

the counterfeit bill dropped by Banks. The following Saturday, on his way back to New London, Austin again stopped at Hill's and Justice Hill gave him the spurious bill to be sent to William Pitkin. Austin reported to Pitkin that people said Banks "was very great with one Leepincutts Wife who is now att New London, She is ye Woman ytt was accus'd, & imprison'd att Rhoad Island for counterfeiting Bills." One Meergratt, keeper of a coffee house in Rhode Island, told Austin that he and his wife suspected Banks of being "naughty" and that Banks had been in Rhode Island to get a sloop built.

Banks was soon arrested and on July 20 was examined at Branford before William Pitkin, assistant, and two justices of the peace, Edward Barker and John Hall. The prisoner said he had come to Branford about three years before, admitted dealings with the Lippencotts but claimed he had received only an insignificant sum from them for keeping Mrs. Lippencott at his house. Then he recounted in some detail a trip he had made to Rhode Island about three weeks before, with special explanation of his finances on the journey.

At the October sessions of the Superior Court at New Haven he was indicted for having, about July 8 at Groton, passed a false 10s. Connecticut bill to Mrs. Savell Latham, widow of Samuel Latham. His indictment, however, was returned ignoramus by the grand jury.

Further information on Bank's activities subsequently came to light through the arrest of John Andrews (or Andros) of Milford. A warrant for his apprehension was issued at Milford on August 9, 1718, by Samuel Eells and Jonathan Law to the constables of that town. One Jones at Boston, who confessed himself a member of the ring of counterfeiters, apparently stated that Andrews had secured plates from Banks. Andrews was taken into custody and on August 11 was examined before Justices Eells and Law. His press was found and he said that Banks, who owed him money, had sent him plates and told him to make bills with them. Instead, he maintained, he threw them into his well and never made any money with them. He was sent with an officer, and the plates were recovered from the well. Andrews was

then released on bail of £40, furnished by Samuel Baldwin and John Harpin of Milford, for his appearance at the next Superior Court to be held at New Haven in September.

On September 9 he was indicted for having on the last day of May passed counterfeit bills of several New England colonies to the value of £29. At this he made a full confession, which was as follows: When he was once at the house of Samuel Miles in Milford, Thomas Banks showed him a letter he had received from Silas Greenman of Kingstown, Rhode Island, in which Greenman wrote that he had a horse for sale for £20; Banks explained that by "horse" Greenman meant "paper money" and by "£20" that he would provide £100 in bills of his own making for £20 of good money. Andrews then agreed to a proposition made by Banks that they go shares in procuring and passing some counterfeits. In March, 1716, Banks went to Greenman for some money but came back empty-handed, since Greenman had no money made. Captain Greenman, however, promised to have some bills ready by May 8 and that one of his sons would then meet Banks between the New London ferry and Edward Dennison's at the bridge.

Banks and Andrews at the appointed time and place met Edward Greenman, who gave Banks only £40, explaining that his brother Silas, who signed the bills, had been chosen justice of the peace and was unwilling to sign any more. Later on Banks went in company with Jones to Captain Greenman's and brought back plates for making the following bills: £3 Rhode Island; 10s. Connecticut; 3s., 3/6, 20s. and 50s. Boston. Soon after this Banks was arrested for passing false money. In October, Andrews said, Banks gave him the plates to keep and then went away with his family to New York, whence about the end of July Banks wrote asking Andrews to send the "things" to him to New York. Andrews himself had had £29 in bogus money from Banks, who, incidentally, told him that Mr. Lippen-cott had secured false money from Captain Greenman.

The judges had promised to intercede in Andrews' favor because he made this confession and produced the plates. The court sentenced him to be imprisoned for six months and to pay a fine of £50 and

costs of £5/4/0. The governor and council on October 28, 1718, heard a petition from the counterfeiter and because of his confession of guilt ordered his release from the jail in New Haven on condition that he furnish to the jailer satisfactory security for the payment of £30 of his fine and costs of prosecution to the next Superior Court to be held in New Haven.<sup>22</sup>

*Ann Lockwood*

When the Superior Court met at Fairfield on September 3, 1717, it had the task of determining who had altered a 2/6 Rhode Island bill to 10/6. Three persons were involved, Lieutenant Richard Higgenbotham, Sergeant Richard Lockwood and Ann Lockwood, the wife of Gersham Lockwood, Jr., of Greenwich. Higgenbotham was cleared by proclamation and it was ordered that the charges of prosecution be paid out of the public treasury.<sup>23</sup> Richard Lockwood gave bail for his appearance in the amount of £100 but did not come into court, sending a note to the effect that he was too ill to attend because of pains in his neck. His bond was declared forfeited, and a *scire facias* was issued for his appearance before the next sessions in March. At that time he was brought into court, when his case was continued until September. He appeared then but his case was apparently dropped, and there is no further notice of it.<sup>24</sup>

Ann Lockwood was the real culprit. It was revealed that about the beginning of July Mrs. Richard Higgenbotham went from Cos Cob with four pairs of stockings for Mrs. Lockwood to sell in Greenwich. While in Greenwich Mrs. Higgenbotham sold two pairs of the stockings, one to Joseph Knap for Indian corn and another to Mr. Jessup for four shillings. She left the money and the remaining two pairs of stockings with Mrs. Lockwood. A few days later Lieutenant Richard Higgenbotham and his wife went to Ann Lockwood and gave her a

<sup>22</sup> S.C. Files, New Haven, Oct., 1717, and Sept., 1718; S.C. Records II, Sept. 9, 1718 and *Col. Rec. Conn.* V, pp. 91-92.

<sup>23</sup> S.C. Records I, Sept. 3, 1717.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* I, Sept. 3, 1717; Sept. 7, 1717; March 4, 1718 and II, Sept., 1718.

2s. bill and a 2/6 Rhode Island bill. She was to add this to the 4s. she already had from them and was to purchase for them some wool. When Mrs. Lockwood looked at the Rhode Island half crown bill, she remarked that it was a fair opportunity to change the 2 to a 10 because of a vacancy in the paper. At this Mr. Higgenbotham told her not to do so and she said that she would not.

The temptation, however, proved too strong. She altered the bill and paid it out, together with three 2s. bills, to Benjamin Hobby for nine and a quarter pounds of wool. But soon Hobby found that the altered bill would not pass and returned it to her. Ann, thoroughly frightened, on Saturday, July 13, took the altered bill to the Higgenbothams. She told them it was the way the apple tempted Mother Eve and that she would never do such a thing again. She talked with them for about an hour under a green tree, asking them to take back the bill and to stretch the truth by saying that they had the bill of a stranger. If they would do this, she promised them £20 and said they could live at one end of her house and have the use of her cows. Her husband knew of her crime and so did his brother Joseph, who had informed her that he had a good mind to knock her on the head because her husband was like to be ruined by her confounded tricks. Subsequently Gersham Lockwood begged Higgenbotham to burn the bill and to say nothing about Ann's confession.

Eventually Ann was taken into custody by Constable Joshua Reynolds. In September she was indicted for having altered the bill, pleaded not guilty, was tried, convicted and sentenced to stand in the pillory on three several lecture days or days of public meeting for a half hour each day. She was further to be disabled to give any evidence before any court, magistrate, or justice of the peace and was to pay costs of prosecution amounting to £6/13/6. On Saturday, September 7, she was discharged on bail provided by her husband on condition that she would appear at Fairfield on the public days appointed by the Deputy Governor to receive such parts of her punishment as had not yet been executed.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1712-1719, G-L, Sept., 1717; S.C. Records II, Sept. 3 and 7, 1717.

*Nathaniel Beach*

On October 10, 1717, Nathaniel Beach of Stratford paid away a 4/6 bill of New Hampshire, altered to 40s., to Benjamin Peat, who in turn paid it to Benjamin Fairweather. Fairweather, finding that the bill had been raised, on October 29 lodged a complaint with James Bennet, J.P., who had Peat arrested. Peat at once swore the false bill on Beach, who was taken into custody, examined and then released on bail of £50 furnished by himself and Fairweather. He was indicted at the Superior Court held in Fairfield on March 4, 1718, at which the witnesses summoned against him were Lieutenant James Bennet, Major John Burr, William James, Samuel Wheeler, Louis Lyron, Job Sherman and Jonathan Styles. Beach pleaded not guilty, was tried and acquitted, being discharged on payment of costs of £5/3/6.<sup>26</sup>

At about this time or a little later the Connecticut 40s. bill was being counterfeited, for the *Boston News-Letter* of June 9, 1718, printed the following dispatch from Piscataqua, dated June 6:

Yesterday two Young Men were Impillored here, and had their Ears cut off, for Forging and uttering a Connecticut Forty Shilling Bill and a Fifteen Shilling Bill of this Province . . . Their Names we forbear incerting, hoping they'l Repent of their Wickeness, and relate the Facts as a warning to all others both in this & in the Neighbouring Provinces to prevent others from committing the like Crimes; who if should, being fairly warned are not to expect the like Indulgence.

*Benjamin Simpson*

On January 12, 1719, Samuel Miles gave entertainment in his house at Milford to Benjamin Simpson of Weston and John Cole of Wells, and Simpson paid out to Miles a 15s. bill of New Hampshire. After their departure Miles discovered that the bill was counterfeit, secured a warrant for their arrest and during the night pursued them

<sup>26</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1712-1719, A-F, March, 1718; S.C. Records I, March 4, 1718.

to Stratford, where he seized them at the house of Mr. Burroughs and brought them before the authorities. Upon examination Simpson owned that he had passed the bill to Miles and said that he had obtained it, along with two other 15s. New Hampshire bills, among the notes making up £6 paid him near Groton for a horse. He did not know who the purchaser was but thought him a sailor lately come from England. He could not tell what he had done with the other two bills and demanded to be searched. This was done, and no paper money was found on him. Cole, however, was also searched and on him was discovered a 20s. Boston bill judged by all the spectators to be false. Cole said that the money was not his but Simpson's, to which Simpson agreed.

It appeared that Simpson had offered one 15s. bill to Mrs. Burroughs, who refused it, telling him it was false. Further Joseph Blackledge and several others testified that after Simpson's arrest they had seen a considerable number of bills in his hand and Blackledge had looked at several of them and handed them back to Simpson. When he was questioned about them, Simpson admitted that he had burned the 15s. bill he had offered to Mrs. Burroughs and he finally requested liberty to go look for the rest of the money, which, he said, he had dropped along the way.

In company with the constable and Samuel Whitney he went back to Mr. Burroughs' house, where, behind the log, they found one 15s. bill partly burnt, and, when Mrs. Burroughs swept the hearth, another 15s. bill came to light. Then a careful search along the road produced a bundle of good bills amounting to fifty-nine shillings, wrapped up in paper and lying in the snow, as well as eleven 15s. New Hampshire bills. Then one more 15s. bill was located in the snow. Simpson admitted that the money was his and finally confessed that he had passed one 15s. bill before coming to Milford. This was scrupled but accepted, so that he feared all the bills were false and therefore burnt some and dropped the others. He was then committed to prison to remain there until the next Superior Court met at Fairfield, while Cole, who had readily answered the questions put

to him and had been fully cleared by Simpson of having owned any of the paper money, was released.<sup>27</sup>

When the Superior Court met at Fairfield on March 3, 1719, the keeper of the jail, Samuel Hubwell, being ordered to produce the prisoner, "declared that the sd. Prisoner had broken Goal and made his Escape out at the Chimney as he apprehended." Joseph Curtis of Stratford in reporting by letter to the Honorable Nathan Gold, Esq., in Fairfield, commented that Simpson's escape was a "great pittee," since such escapes encouraged criminals. Miles, because of Simpson's flight, had lost the reward due to him as informer, so upon his petitioning the Assembly in October that body voted him the sum of £5.<sup>28</sup>

The concern of the authorities over the steady circulation of false paper money is indicated by the action of the governor and council at a meeting held at Saybrook on December 4, 1718, when it was resolved that a proclamation should be made requiring all persons in authority who had secured any counterfeit bills to have them returned to the treasurer of the colony before a certain day in May that the General Assembly might decide what should be done with them.<sup>29</sup>

It is quite likely that Ebenezer Seamore was responsible for some of the counterfeits. He was arrested in 1718 on suspicion of altering and putting off paper notes. He retained as his attorney John Read of Lone Town and gave Read his promisory note for £20. Read, however, went off to Springfield and Seamore had to secure the services of another lawyer. As it transpired, Seamore was not brought to trial but was dismissed, though he had to pay Read the £20, much to his chagrin.<sup>30</sup> Before long he was to get into serious trouble through his connection with Ovid Rushbrook.

<sup>27</sup> C. & M. II, 155-156; S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1712-1719, M-S, March, 1719.

<sup>28</sup> C. & M. III, Counterfeiting (unbound), 102-103.

<sup>29</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* VI, p. 97.

<sup>30</sup> C. & M. III, Counterfeiting (unbound), 93-94.



#### IV

#### THE YEARS 1720-1730

##### *Ovid Rushbrook and his Associates*

On December 3, 1718, a general council held in Boston appointed Samuel Partridge, John Pyncheon, Joseph Parsons, Samuel Porter and John Stoddard to serve as judges of a special court of Oyer and Terminer to be held at Northampton for Hampshire County on the third Tuesday in December for the trial of Ovid Rushbrook (or Rutchbrock) for counterfeiting the bills of Massachusetts and Connecticut.<sup>1</sup> Rushbrook apparently escaped conviction but one of the judges, John Pyncheon, Jr., writing from Springfield in March, 1720, said of Rushbrook that at his trial "it was Generally Thought by ye Court, and other persons, That he was Guilty of The Fact he was Charged with." Pyncheon added: "It is generally Concluded by ye People here in Springfield, That This Last year, he has very much Practiced, The Counterfeiting & altering of Bills of Credit."<sup>2</sup>

Before long Rushbrook transferred his activities to Connecticut, and on February 25, 1720, William Pitkin, assistant, having received information that Rushbrook, Joshua Booth, Benoney Blodget, Dr. Whipple and others were counterfeiting bills of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, ordered the Sheriff of Hartford County to go to Tolland and arrest the above-mentioned persons or any other individuals who might be found in Whipple's house. The sheriff was likewise commanded to search for false bills or instruments for making them and, if necessary, to break open any house, chest or other place in the course of his search. On February 29 Deputy Sheriff Thomas Spencer reported that he had

<sup>1</sup> *Boston News-Letter*, Dec. 8, 1718, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> C. & M. II, 190b.

arrested Thomas and Abraham Whipple, Ovid Rushbrook and Benoney Blodget and had seized two copper plates found hidden in Thomas Whipple's house.<sup>3</sup> The persons taken up were examined, and from their answers it appeared that visitors at Whipple's home of late had been William Crome from Coventry, Benoney Blodget and Joshua Booth. Rushbrook, who had followed the clothing trade in Springfield, had come away from that town to avoid paying money upon a charge laid upon him and had been boarding at Whipple's for about a month. All the witnesses professed great ignorance about the provenance of the two copper plates, and, when they were questioned as to how a certain board came to be as black as it was, they professed that it was from powder for making a skyrocket. After the examination of the suspects, it was decided by Pitkin, Joseph Talcott and Aaron Cook, J. P., that Thomas Whipple, Sr., and Ovid Rushbrook should find surety in the amount of £20 each to appear at the Superior Court to be held at Hartford on the third Tuesday in March or otherwise be committed to jail. Samuel Whipple of Groton furnished the bail of £20 for Whipple but Rushbrook was locked up in jail. Whipple's sons, Thomas, Jr., and Abraham, were discharged on payment of costs.

Before the meeting of the court in Hartford considerable evidence was collected by Justice John Pyncheon in Springfield and sent to the Connecticut authorities. David Ingersoll of Springfield testified that Rushbrook seemed to have money, slyly looking at it in his pocketbook and taking great care that no one should get a good look at it. Ebenezer Stebbins, who had worked together with Rushbrook much of the past winter, swore that Rushbrook was very remiss in his business yet seemed to have money from some source.

Other witnesses before John Pyncheon gave more damaging details. Jonathan Merrick stated that Rushbrook had told him it was an easy thing to alter bills by taking pieces of small bills and grafting the pieces onto bigger bills. On one occasion he examined Rushbrook's pocketbook and found in it pieces of bills, some with the word "shillings" on them and some other words or figures. He took them to

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* II, 170a, 170b.

Rushbrook and told him he thought he was engaged in altering bills with these pieces but Rushbrook made no reply.

Margaret Merrick testified that during the summer of 1719, when Rushbrook was boarding at the home of her father, Lieutenant John Merrick, Rushbrook, who owed her father fifteen pence, seeing her with a fifteenpenny bill, told her that if she would turn it over to him he would give her a half crown bill and thus pay his debt. This was done, and soon after, on entering the shop where Rushbrook worked, she saw behind his loom his open pocketbook. She took it up and saw in it the fifteenpenny bill, now raised to fifteen shillings, and she recognized the bill by a particular mark which she had observed on the note which she had given to Rushbrook.

Robert Carton gave evidence that the night before Rushbrook left Springfield in company with Thomas Whipple the two men were at Ingersoll's, where they called for a private room and a fire. Carton, who was waiting on them, observed to Rushbrook, when Whipple had stepped out, that "they were about Roguery." Rushbrook said that he would like to secure three shilling and half crown Rhode Island bills if the house had any. Later, on passing through the chamber, Carton heard Rushbrook tell Whipple he could make New York money easily.

Mary Day, wife of Lieutenant John Day of Springfield, stated under oath that one evening Rushbrook and Jonathan Old were at their house whispering together. Old asked her for a light that they might go aside into another room, a request which she refused. The next morning Old came asking after his pocketbook, which he said he had lost the night before. This same pocketbook was found by Henry Rogers of Springfield, who brought it to Justice Pyncheon and told him that papers in it indicated that the owner was Jonathan Old. In the purse were also two counterfeit 40s. (PLATE XI) Rhode Island bills. Pyncheon kept the matter secret until he received a message from Justice Wolcott of Windsor asking for information about Rushbrook. Old was then summoned and examined, first by Pyncheon and later by Pyncheon and Major Stoddard together. After many

shiftings and evasions Old admitted receiving the two forged bills from Rushbrook and that Rushbrook later begged him to keep silent about the loss of the pocketbook lest Rushbrook get into trouble on account of the bills. Pyncheon had Old sign an acknowledgment on the back of each bill that he had received it from Rushbrook. The justice then sent the money to the judges of the Superior Court in Hartford, where one of the bills in question is still preserved in the Connecticut State Library.

In Connecticut new evidence against Rushbrook came to light, for it was discovered that he had passed to Joseph Hatch of Hartford a fifteenpenny New Hampshire bill altered to three pounds (PLATE XII), a bill which Hatch had passed to Widow Abigail Baker of Windsor, who discovered the cheat and brought the matter to the attention of Justice Aaron Cook.

On May 20, 1720, Thomas Whipple was indicted for having prepared, together with Rushbrook, copper plates for counterfeiting the bills of the colonies in New England. On the twenty-sixth of the same month Rushbrook was indicted for counterfeiting bills, making copper plates for such purpose and for passing counterfeit money.

A report reached Rushbrook in prison that his trial was to be put off to a later session, whereupon he petitioned the judges, asking for a prompt trial along with Dr. Whipple and closing with these words: "I remain in a friendless and Moneyless, and almost in an Lunitick Condition thinking what will Become of me who Sprung of so Noble a stock." The trials of both men, however, did not take place, for Peter Pratt, the King's Attorney, stated that at the moment certain witnesses could not be had and therefore moved that the trials be deferred until the witnesses might be procured. As Rushbrook escaped and there is no record of a trial of Whipple, it is probable that Whipple's case was dropped.<sup>4</sup>

In May, 1720, a law was passed to the following effect:

<sup>4</sup> The sources for the counterfeiting activities of Rushbrook and Whipple are C. & M. II, 170-190. A 40s. bill passed by Rushbrook to Jonathan Old has been preserved and is in the Connecticut State Library (item 183 in C. & M. II).

Whosoever shall Stamp, or any other ways Counterfeit any of the several sorts of Coin, mentioned in a certain Law, Entituled, *An Act for Ascertaining the Value of Coins Currant within this Colony*; or any other Species or sort of Coin; or that shall Utter or put off any such Counterfeit Coin, knowing it to be Base, False and Counterfeit; and shall be thereof Convicted before any of the Superiour Courts in this Colony, shall be Sentenced to suffer Six Months Imprisonment, or such other Fine or Corporal Punishment (respect being had to the degree of the Crime) as the said Court shall judge meet or inflict: Such Fines to be to the Publick Treasury of this Colony.<sup>5</sup>

It may be presumed that there was some suspicion that counterfeit coin was being made or uttered, though the extant records give no evidence on the point.

By September it was discovered that the 10s. bills of Connecticut were being forged. Samuel Shute, Governor of Massachusetts, on September 5, 1720, issued the following procamation:

Whereas notwithstanding the Care of this Government to prevent and punish the Counterfeiting and Falsifying the Bills of Credit, (more especially of this Province,) a Discovery has been lately made of a considerable number of Forged and Counterfeit Bills, in Imitation of the Five Pound Bills of this Province, Signed by Four Hands; and others in Imitation of the Ten Shilling Bills of the Colony of Connecticut; Which Counterfeit Bills have been Uttered by One John Bishop of Guilford (as he calls himself) who is supposed to be the Forger and Counterfeiter thereof, and to have been assisted by one Joshua Booth of Enfield, and one William Tucker:

I have therefore thought fit by the Advice of His Majesty's Council to issue forth this Proclamation, hereby to give Publick Notice of the said Counterfeit Bills, in order to prevent the Inhabitants of this and the Neighbouring Provinces from being imposed upon and cheated thereby, and to call upon all His Majesty's good Subjects, as they will do their Duty to the Government, and as they tender the Interest thereof, to use their utmost Endeavour to make Discovery of the Authors and their Accom-

<sup>5</sup> *Acts and Laws, of His Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New-England* (New-London: Timothy Green, 1715), p. 153 and *Col. Rec. Conn.* VI, p. 193.

plices in such Wicked and Detestable Practices; Hereby also promising a Reward of Ten Pounds, and the necessary Charges (to be paid out of the Publick Treasury) to such Person or Persons as shall discover and apprehend the abovesaid John Bishop (as he is called) so as he be rendered up to Justice: The said John Bishop is described as follows, viz. He is of the Age of about Twenty one Years, of middle Stature, having short brown Hair somewhat curled, and having on a blue Cloth Coat, Leather Breeches and light coloured Du Roy Jacket.<sup>6</sup>

John Bishop, alias John Blyn, had been arrested at Woodstock on September 2 and taken before the authorities. At his examination he was found to have some of the counterfeit 10s. Connecticut bills on his person but in some fashion he managed to flee, and the same day a hue and cry was issued after him.<sup>7</sup> While the search was on in both Massachusetts and Connecticut, Benjamin Judd, a constable of Farmington, learning of the affair and making inquiries, discovered where Bishop was concealed and with the aid of others found and apprehended him. The prisoner was taken before Major Talcott to be examined. Bishop confessed that he had counterfeited and passed many bills of Connecticut and other colonies. There is no record of his punishment and he very likely escaped by breaking jail, as happened so often because of the weakness of the prisons. His captor, Benjamin Judd, petitioned the General Assembly for some reward for his services.<sup>8</sup> It will be recalled that the name of Bishop's associate, Joshua Booth of Enfield, had been mentioned in the examinations made into the counterfeiting activities of Rushbrook and Whipple. It is not known whether Booth and Tucker were captured but presumably they escaped arrest, since there is no further mention of them in the court records.

It was anticipated that there might be occasion to employ persons in the colony's service "in bringing such as are or may be taken up

<sup>6</sup> *Boston News-Letter*, Sept. 12, 1720, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> C. & M. II, 220-221. Jonathan Rogers of New London was especially active in the pursuit.

<sup>8</sup> C. & M. II, 222a.

for counterfeiting bills. . . to just punishment," for on November 1, 1720, the governor and council placed a sum of money at the disposal of Joseph Talcott to be used on orders of the governor and council.<sup>9</sup>

It was probably the activity of Bishop and his associates which on November 2, 1720, prompted Governor Shute of Massachusetts to say in a speech to the General Assembly of that province:

The Vile practice of Counterfeiting the Province Bills, is carrying on not only in many parts of these Provinces; but also in Great Britain, which if not timely prevented must prove very fatal to most of the American Settlements, whose Medium of Trade are Bills of Credit, I therefore recommend it to you, as one of the best Expedients to prevent the growth of this wicked Practice, to make it a Capital Crime by a Law, and strictly to put it in Execution, without which, making of good & wholesome Laws, will be of no signification, and instead of tending to strengthen the hands of Government, which is the principal design of making them, will rather render the Government weak and feeble.<sup>10</sup>

#### *Edward Denison*

The first recorded case of counterfeiting in 1721 involved Edward Denison of Stonington, who had no connection, as far as is known, with Rushbrook. On January 24 James Smith of Bellingham, Massachusetts, complained against Denison to Richard Christophers, assistant. Smith charged that at Stonington, on December 30, 1720, in the presence of Samuel Rich, Denison, in paying off a bond, gave Smith a 3s. Massachusetts bill which was found to be altered to 30s. (PLATES XIII–XIV). Smith scrupled it but Denison said he did not have enough money to take it back and had his son write his (the father's) name on it. Denison, who claimed that he had borrowed the bill from someone, was bound over to appear at the March sessions of the Superior Court to be held at New London and was released on

<sup>9</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* VI. pp. 227–228.

<sup>10</sup> *Boston News-Letter*, Nov. 7, 1720, p. 1. The same newspaper of December 19, 1720, p. 2, notes that the governor had assented to an act against counterfeiting the bills of credit of Massachusetts and the neighboring governments.

bail of £100 furnished by himself and James Packer of Groton. It would seem that the evidence was insufficient, for the grand jury returned the indictment *ignoramus*.<sup>11</sup>

*John Thomas*

Toward the close of the same year John Allison, a wigmaker of Wethersfield, complained on December 20 to Justice John Goodrich at Wethersfield that John Thomas, a laborer of Middletown, had on the previous day passed him a Connecticut half crown bill altered to 40s. One witness, Mehitabel Rose, swore that Thomas had said the bill he gave to Allison was good and that, if it were not, he would take it back and also that he had received it from Mr. Watson. Other witnesses, John Francis and Luther Latimer, stated that in their presence on December 19 Thomas offered 20s. to Solomon Gillman for an altered half crown bill and that Gillman warned Thomas that the bill was altered and that he must not put it off for 40s.

A warrant for the arrest of Thomas was issued and he was apprehended and examined by Justice Goodrich on December 20. The magistrate set bail of £200 for the appearance of Thomas at the Superior Court to be held at Hartford in March. On December 23, however, Joseph Talcott, assistant, released Thomas on bail of £50 furnished by Thomas Binen of Middletown and Joseph Baker of Hartford. At the March sessions Peter Pratt, the King's Attorney, informed against Thomas for uttering the altered bill,<sup>12</sup> but as there is no further record of the case it is possible that Thomas fled or that the grand jury failed to indict him.

*Joseph Drake, Jr.*

On August 2, 1722, William Pitkin issued a warrant to either of the constables of Windsor to arrest Joseph Drake, Jr., of that town

<sup>11</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1721.

<sup>12</sup> The documents relating to the case are in C. & M. II, 225-230.

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and bring him before Pitkin in Hartford at eight o'clock on the morning of August 6. Zebulon Taylor and Samuel Piney, Jr., both of Windsor, were also summoned to give evidence against Drake for having sometime in April passed a counterfeit dollar to John Smith of Windsor. On August 6 Pitkin adjourned the court to Monday, August 13, when Drake appeared and was questioned. During his examination Drake admitted having sold a piece of pewter in the shape and form of a dollar to Smith for five shillings, a sum which Smith had not yet paid him.

Taylor and Piney testified that once in the house in Windsor where Jonathan Day lived they heard Smith speak to Drake "about his putting off false Dolers or false Money." At this time Drake pulled out a piece in the shape of a dollar, which Smith said that Drake dare not pass. Drake affirmed that he did and offered to let Smith have it for five shillings and claimed that it was good money.

Pitkin thought the evidence against Drake so strong that he required his appearance at the next Superior Court to be held in Hartford on the second Tuesday in September. The prisoner was then released on bail of £50 provided by Drake and his father, Joseph, Sr. When the Superior Court met, the King's Attorney informed the justices that he was of the opinion that there was not sufficient evidence to support a prosecution of Drake and therefore had nothing to object against him.<sup>13</sup>

#### *Samuel and Abel Chapin*

Ovid Rushbrook, while being examined at Springfield, had confessed that he had concealed two plates, one for making the £5 bill of Massachusetts and the other for forging the 10s. Connecticut bill. One Samuel Chapin of Springfield, who happened to be present at the examination, went out and found the two plates. Together with a cousin named Abel he then struck off some £5 notes but he found that the plate for the Connecticut bill had a crack in it which rendered it

<sup>13</sup> C. & M. II, 223-224b.

useless. In May, 1723, the cousins were arrested in Newport, Rhode Island, for passing bad money, were tried, convicted, pilloried, cropped and required to pay double damages to all whom they had defrauded, as well as costs of prosecution.<sup>14</sup>

*Mary Peck Butterworth*

Another counterfeiter of this period was Mary Peck Butterworth of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, who as early as 1716 was forging paper money of Rhode Island. She later made bills of Massachusetts and the £5 Connecticut bill. She did not employ a plate but did the work with a pen, selling her product at half the face value but not passing it herself. One of her agents, Nicholas Camp of Rehoboth, was caught passing bad money and was examined at Newport in August, 1723. He confessed that he had uttered about £50 in false Connecticut £5 bills made by Mrs. Butterworth, and one of her products may well be the counterfeit Connecticut £5 bill, dated 1713, now in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford.<sup>15</sup>

The New England governments had good reason to be alarmed by the activities of Mrs. Butterworth and others. Governor Dummer of Massachusetts on August 9, 1723, issued a proclamation designed to protect not only the bills of his province but also those of the other colonies in New England. It read:

Whereas notwithstanding the Care taken by the several Governments to secure their Bills of Credit from Forgery and Corruption, by ordaining such Punishments as were thought sufficient to deter all Persons from that wicked and villanous Practice, and altho' the same by a late Law of this Province is to be punished by Death; And notwithstanding the former Examples of Justice inflicted on such Offenders, Divers Persons have of late been so bold and hardy as to Counterfeit the Bills of this and the Neighbouring Governments; more especially the Five Pound and Thirty

<sup>14</sup> Kenneth Scott, "The Counterfeiting Venture of Abel and Samuel Chapin," *Rhode Island History* II (1952), pp. 93–95.

<sup>15</sup> Richard LeBaron Bowen, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 63–78.

Shilling Bills of this Province, and the Five Pound Bill of the Colony of Rhode-Island; several of which Bills have lately pass'd to the manifest Lessening the Credit of the true Bills, as well as to the Loss and Wrong of particular Persons:

I have therefore thought fit, with the Advice of His Majesty's Council, and at the Desire of the Representatives in their present Session, to issue forth this Proclamation, Hereby Requiring all Officers and Others His Majesty's good Subjects to use their utmost Endeavour to discover and bring to Justice all Persons whatsoever that may be concern'd in the said wicked Practice of Forging and Counterfeiting the Bills of Credit of this Government, and the Neighbouring Governments of *New-Hampshire, Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island*; Hereby likewise Engaging that such Persons shall receive the Rewards provided by Law for such Services, and promising pardon to any One or Two Persons that have been concern'd in the Making or Uttering Counterfeit Bills, as aforesaid, who shall on or before the First Day of October next make a plain and full Discovery thereof, and as far as they know of their Accomplices, or Other Persons concern'd in those vile Practices; And in Case the said Accomplices or Others concern'd, shall be thereby detected and by Law convicted of the said Crime, the Person or Persons making such Discovery, as aforesaid, shall be Entitled to the Reward of Fifty Pounds each, and their necessary Charges.<sup>16</sup>

*Ovid Rushbrook and Ebenezer Seamore Again*

Not much later, on October 25, 1723, Daniel Tuttle of Wallingford, Connecticut, yeoman, was arrested and examined in Boston concerning his passing to Elizabeth Ellis a false £5 bill of Rhode Island. He claimed that Francis Brown of New Haven had given it to him some ten days before and had asked him to purchase handkerchiefs with it in Boston. During the examination he tried to chew up a 40s. bill, which he managed to reduce to pulp before it was taken from his mouth. Three days later he was further examined by Justice Habijah Savage and he told how Ebenezer Seamore that summer had brought back £5 and 40s. bills of Rhode Island from the Jerseys and had later

<sup>16</sup> *Boston News-Letter*, Aug. 15, 1723, p. 1.

showed him, Tuttle, plates for making them which had been engraved by Rushbrook. Tuttle had kept the plates for Seamore under straw in his barn. On November 9 Tuttle petitioned Governor Dummer and his council to be permitted to give information against Seamore. Tuttle was tried in Boston on December 13, 1723, and was acquitted, for the jury decided that his putting the bill in the hands of Elizabeth Ellis was not "uttering" it.<sup>17</sup>

By the end of December Tuttle was back in Connecticut giving evidence against Seamore and his associates. Seamore was taken up at Wallingford, sent to Hartford and, after his examination on November 3, 1723, was committed to jail. The next day John Wyard (or Wiard) of Wethersfield was examined by Joseph Talcott, assistant, who also at that time questioned James Poisson (or Pison). Wyard was arrested and examined again on November 6, 7 and 13. He had put off false bills, obtained from Seamore, in Waterbury and in Woodbury. At Seamore's request he later sent John Hurlbut to get back the bills uttered in Woodbury. At his first examination he admitted having gone to Philadelphia with Seamore and mentioned Seamore's having made a trip to Egg Harbor in the Jerseys, but he confessed to nothing damaging either to himself or to Seamore. On November 6, however, when he was offered a reward of £20 and promised that all possible favor would be shown him if he could apprehend the principal actor and bring about the seizure of the press, he hesitated but said he was as capable as anyone of being King's Evidence in the matter. His further examination was then postponed until the seventh, when he was released in bail of £200. On that day he was closely questioned about a bill he had passed and was finally released again on bail of £250. At his final examination on November 13 Wyard admitted that he had been together with Seamore and Daniel Tuttle in Wallingford, and, with respect to a £5 bill he had passed, he explained that he had originally received the money from James Poisson and later got him to take it back. Still, however, he revealed nothing dangerous to himself or Seamore.

<sup>17</sup> Richard LeBaron Bowen, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

James Poisson, who was examined on November 4, told quite a different story. Wyard, according to Poisson, brought him a Rhode Island £5 bill which Wyard had passed to Hezekiah May and May had returned. Poisson inspected it, declared it to be false and tore it to pieces, acting thus as a friend to Wyard to keep him out of trouble. May confirmed the fact the Wyard had given him a counterfeit bill, which he had returned, and Elnathan Strong told also of receiving a 40s. Rhode Island bill from Wyard which proved to be forged and which Wyard took back. In like fashion John Hurlbut and Ensign Curtis had received false Rhode Island paper money from Wyard.

Daniel Tuttle, who was back in Connecticut on December 31, was apparently quite willing to talk freely and told what is probably the true story, which is as follows: in the spring of 1723 he was hired by Seamore to pilot him through the woods to Guilford, where Seamore said he was going to get John Blyn, the same man who had been formerly prosecuted for making money. Seamore planned to send Blyn to get Ovid Rushbrook to go with him, Seamore, to the Jerseys to make plates and money. A short time later Seamore informed Tuttle that Blyn would not go to Rushbrook and that Rushbrook would not be concerned with Blyn because Blyn had once before betrayed him. So Seamore went himself to Rushbrook in Springfield. Rushbrook promised to meet him soon in Wallingford and presently came there. At the end of May or beginning of June, 1723, Seamore, Rushbrook and one Robinson of Wallingford set out for the Jerseys. On the way, as Seamore said, he bought "half a pint of Lincott oyl att Mr. Jeremiah Attwaters in New Haven to do the flourishes of the bills on the back sid."

Seamore, on his return to Wallingford about June 12 or 14, told Tuttle that they had made a £5 plate of Rhode Island and had struck from it six or eight bills which he thought would pass. They had made the money "near Thirty miles from any place," cutting a hole in a hollow tree and putting in a pry to press the bills. One or two of the notes had been passed off at Egg Harbor to a man named Risley from Wallingford, who later returned the bills to Seamore. Rushbrook and

Seamore together made another trip to the Jerseys about the beginning of July.

On the second trip they made more money, of which Seamore passed one bill at Fairfield and another at Danbury. Seamore stated to Tuttle that every time he came up from the Jerseys, John Wyard got part of the bogus money; Wyard, sometime in August, accompanied Seamore to the Jerseys, where Rushbrook made a plate for the 40s. Rhode Island bill and Wyard had a press made. Seamore returned to Wallingford alone, while Wyard, coming later, brought with him fifty £5 Rhode Island counterfeits and fifty 40s. bills of that province made from the new plate; he left both plates and half of the bills with Seamore.

Seamore gave Tuttle a number of the false bills and on the Sunday night after Wyard's return asked Tuttle to keep the plates in a chest under lock and key. Tuttle took them but hid them in his haymow, where they were found later when a search was made for them. Seamore, as he told Tuttle, put off a 40s. bill to Ensign Nathaniel Roy, another to John Ives, Jr., and a £5 bill to a person whose first name was Jeremiah, all inhabitants of Wallingford. On a trip to Boston and Salem Seamore had put off some £60 in counterfeit bills, one of which was passed to a Mr. Lewis of Boston.

Evidence secured by the authorities from John Blyn largely confirmed Tuttle's account. Blyn, moreover, added a number of details: Seamore and Wyard promised Rushbrook a horse and clothing for his services and Seamore gave Rushbrook a watch and £4 in New York money to encourage him. Despite this Rushbrook gave him the slip and afterwards, when Seamore had been arrested and broken jail and escaped, he told Tuttle that when he (Seamore) and Wyard were in Philadelphia they heard that Rushbrook was also there. They went to the house where he was said to be staying but the residents denied that he was there, so the two men went away. Coming again a half day later, they entered and saw Rushbrook run upstairs, so they followed him and asked him why he had taken their money and then left them in the lurch. He maintained that he was afraid but they

finally won him over and he made the two plates for them. Tuttle added that Seamore had offered him his expenses and a horse if he would go down to Rushbrook and get more plates but Tuttle refused to have anything to do with the business.

As a result of the investigations Wyard was indicted in March, 1724, for uttering a false bill, and James Poisson, shopkeeper, was presented by the grand jury in September of the same year, also for passing. Poisson, at an examination on March 30, 1724, when asked where and when he got the counterfeit £5 Rhode Island bill he had passed to Caleb Bull (PLATE XV), replied that he had picked it up on the highway between Hartford and Wethersfield and that he had found in all nine £5 and seven 40s. Rhode Island counterfeit bills, all wrapped up in a paper. When further pressed by the examining magistrates, he made it clear that John Wyard, who owed him money, had dropped it for him to pick up. The name of John Pierce had been written on the bill passed to Caleb Bull, and Poisson admitted he had written the name on the money in order to swear that he had the counterfeit from Pierce. Poisson said he suspected the bills because he did not believe Wyard had so much good money also and because the false bills were paler than true ones and because they looked so new. Poisson, at the conclusion of his examination, was released on bail of £200 provided by Jonathan Easton for his appearance at the September session of the Superior Court in Hartford.

After his indictment he pleaded not guilty but was tried, convicted and sentenced to be imprisoned for six months, to stand an hour and a half in the pillory at Hartford between the hours of ten and one on some day in November, to have the lower part of his right ear cut off and to pay costs of £9/10/-. When, however, he was called three times, he failed to appear, and the bond given by Easton was declared forfeited.<sup>18</sup> Easton died soon after and the recognizance was sued out against his administratrix to final judgment. Peter Pratt, the King's Attorney, therefore, informed the Assembly in October, 1725, that Poisson was "like wholly to escape punishment for his flagitious crime,

<sup>18</sup> S.C. Records IV, Sept. 8, 1724.

and the innocent widow and fatherless made the only sufferers." The Assembly then had a warrant issued for the immediate arrest of Poisson, who was to have the sentence of the Superior Court against him executed unless he should pay the £200 and sheriff's costs before December 31, 1725.<sup>19</sup> The sum was evidently paid by Poisson, for in April of the next year thirty pounds of it, by direction of the governor and council, was ordered paid to Major Roger Wolcott for official business.<sup>20</sup> Apparently, if Easton had not died, Poisson, by his non-appearance in court in September, 1724, would have escaped punishment altogether, and justice would have been satisfied by the forfeiture of the bail. After his absconding Poisson had been living unmolested in New Haven, apparently with the full knowledge of the authorities.<sup>21</sup>

Seamore also was an elusive person. He was arrested<sup>22</sup> and was to be tried at the Superior Court held at Hartford on March 10, 1724, but broke out of the Hartford jail and fled. Bail for his appearance in the amount of £150 had been provided by Samuel Seamore (or Seymour), and when Ebenezer was thrice called and failed to appear, this bail was declared forfeited.<sup>23</sup>

Seamore was, however, again taken into custody and at a Superior Court held in Fairfield on August 25, 1724, was indicted for having, on July 1, 1723, in Danbury tried to cheat Samuel Starr by putting off to him a counterfeit £5 Rhode Island bill. He was called, appeared, pleaded not guilty, was tried, convicted and sentenced to be imprisoned for six months, to stand an hour and a half in the pillory near the court house in Fairfield in November on some day between the hours of ten and one, to have the lower part of his right ear cut off and to pay costs of £9/6/6.<sup>24</sup> Unhappily for the cause of justice he escaped from jail, though it is not stated whether any of the pun-

<sup>19</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* VI, pp. 561-562.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* VI, p. 580.

<sup>21</sup> *C. & M.* III, 19a and 19b.

<sup>22</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* VI, pp. 436-437.

<sup>23</sup> *S.C. Records*, III, March 10, 1724.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* III, Aug. 25, 1724.



ishments had been inflicted on him.<sup>25</sup> In May, 1726, the Assembly considered a request of Samuel Starr that he be awarded £5 in lieu of the counterfeit £5 bill he had received from Seamore and had turned over to Joseph Talcott, Esq., and that he also be granted the reward of £20 due to an informer. The Assembly voted him the £5 but refused him the reward.<sup>26</sup>

Daniel Tuttle, who had given such damaging evidence, does not seem to have been prosecuted by the Connecticut authorities. Wyard, too, escaped punishment, for after his examination on March 30, 1724, it did not appear to Joseph Talcott, assistant, that there was enough evidence to convict him, so he was released on bail of £500 to appear before the Superior Court to give evidence against Seamore, Poisson or any other person guilty of making plates, counterfeiting or passing.<sup>27</sup> Despite the fact that Wyard, who seems to have been deeply involved in the affair, was indicted by the grand jury in March, 1724, there is no record of his trial and the case was probably dropped, as he was to give evidence against Seamore and Poisson.<sup>28</sup> With regard to James Poisson, it would be interesting to know why he and his brother, described as "French refugees residing at Wethersfield," were late in 1708 or early in 1709 warned out of that town by the selectmen.<sup>29</sup> Possibly the selectmen had more foresight than the General Assembly, which voted these refugees permission to live where they pleased in Connecticut.

The Connecticut authorities were alarmed by the counterfeiting which was being carried on, and the governor and council on February 20, 1724, ordered that a proclamation be issued "for the more effectual discovery and conviction of such as have been guilty of counterfeiting bills of credit, or of uttering them willingly, or of making any plates

<sup>25</sup> *Boston News-Letter*, Oct. 8, 1724, p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* VII, pp. 41-42 and Conn. Archives, Finance and Currency II, 30.

<sup>27</sup> C. & M. III, 14b and 15.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* III, 10. Most of the material concerned with Seamore, Poisson, Wyard and Tuttle is to be found in S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1720-1729, M.-S., 1724 and C. & M. III, 1-19; see also *Col. Rec. Conn.* VII, p. 84.

<sup>29</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* XV, p. 557.

or other instruments for such an end, or of counselling, aiding, or abetting any such wickedness.”<sup>30</sup>

It was natural, no doubt, that the colony should decide on more severe penalties as a deterrent to counterfeiters. In May, 1724, the following law was enacted:

Be it Enacted by the Governour, Council and Representatives, in General Court Assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That whosoever shall presume to Forge, Counterfeit, Alter or Utter any Bill or Bills of Credit of this Colony, or of the Bills of Credit of the Provinces of the *Massachusetts-Bay, New-Hampshire, New-York, Rhode-Island* and the *New-Jersies*, knowing them to be such, that now are or hereafter shall be by the Law Established, either in this Colony or either of the aforesaid Provinces; or that shall Council, Advise, Procure, or any ways Assist in the Forging, Counterfeiting, Imprinting, Stamping, Altering or Signing of any such false Bill or Bills, knowing them to be such; or Engrave any Plate, or make any other Instrument to be used for that purpose, every Person or Persons so offending, being thereof Convicted before any of the Superiour Courts in this Colony, shall be Punished by having his right ear cut off, and shall be Branded on the Forehead with the Letter C. and be committed to a Work-house and there be confined to Work under the care of a Master till the day of his Death: and never depart from said House without special Leave from this Assembly, under the penalty of being severely Whip’t; and that all the Estate of any Person offending as aforesaid, shall be Forfeited to this Government: also the Person so offending as aforesaid, shall be for ever debarred of any Trade or Dealing within this Colony in any wise, upon the penalty of being severely Whip’t.<sup>31</sup>

### *Ephraim Shevie*

In addition to Rushbrook, Seamore, Tuttle, Wyard and Poisson, others were suspected of counterfeiting at times. One such person was Ephraim Shevie, alias John Rideout, who was arrested by Benjamin

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* VI, pp. 435–436.

<sup>31</sup> *Acts and Laws of His Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New-England* (New-London: Timothy Green, 1715–1731), p. 301 and *Col. Rec. Conn.* VI, p. 467.

Judd on December 13 and taken, along with Thomas Stedman and Israel Scias (or Sias), who were with him, to Major Talcott, assistant. The three men were closely questioned by Talcott, who ordered Shevie to be confined in the Hartford jail.

Shevie was by profession a maker of sundials, although he had also probably taught school and apparently felt qualified as a teacher. He had been acquainted with Dr. Whipple of Tolland and John Blyn and seemingly knew much about Rushbrook. At his examination he admitted that he had hidden his tools some thirty rods from his lodging but was full of excuses and lies and claimed that he had boasted that he would make a plate for counterfeiting only in jest.

Stedman and Scias told a different story, for Stedman said that Shevie had asked if he could have a private room at his house and had told Scias he would make the room into a mint room for making bills. Their account was that Shevie asked Stedman for a new 10s. bill and claimed he would make a plate for it. He also wished Stedman to have ready for him 30s., 20s., and 10s. bills. Shevie likewise had told them he had made a £5, a £3/10 and a £3 plate and had struck off bills from them, the best bills ever made. When asked to show the plates, he said they were in the woods some two miles away. He also promised he would make £300 in bills for Scias and asserted that the best place to finish his plates would be in the chamber of Joseph Butler.

The authorities now began to question other persons thought to have knowledge of Shevie's money making, among whom was Abigail Conwell of Middletown. She seems to have interested Israel Scias in trying to benefit by Shevie's work and she declared that she had heard Shevie and Daniel Martin talking of making false money and that Shevie had affirmed he could make £1,000 of bills that would not be suspected.

For some time Shevie had boarded at the home of Nathaniel and Hannah Barns in Middletown. Now Constable Thomas How of that place brought them before Justice Hamblin to be questioned. According to the Barns, Shevie boasted he could engrave a plate for making money if Barns would give him new bills. Barns did give him

a 5s. Connecticut bill and presently Shevie produced a plate he had made to print such money and also showed another plate with flowers engraved on it. Barns took the plates away from Shevie's workshop and hid them under the roots of a tree, whereupon Shevie became angry and protested that the plates were worth £50. Once Shevie tried to persuade Barns to ride to New York to bring him supplies for making bills, "Indian black" and "Linset oyl." Mr. and Mrs. Barns admitted that they had passed off half of a 5s. Connecticut bill to Captain Nols, the tailor, but, when he declared it false, they took it back. They explained that they got the half bill from Jonathan Prat, a shopkeeper in Wethersfield.

At his examination on December 20 Shevie admitted he had engraved letters on a plate and also an escutcheon, but only to try his skill. Towards the end of the month, however, he sent the jailer to Talcott to say that he would make a confession. Talcott, accompanied by Justice Cook, went to the jail and Shevie told them that Nathaniel Barns induced him to make the 5s. plate, since Barns wanted to make money to redeem his mortgaged land. The bills came off blotched and Shevie burnt them, while Barns carried away the plate.

Shevie was most indiscreet, for at the house of Obadiah Allyn he "bragged" in the presence of Daniel Marcom to one Thankful Baker that he could make £5 bills and pulled some from his pocket. When the persons present said they would complain of him, he threw the bills in the fire. On another occasion, at the house of John Williams in Middletown, when Ebenezer Hubbert, Joseph Starr, Williams, Ebenezer Robind and Moses Bidwell were there, Shevie pulled out about £10 in bills and asked Williams if he could change a £5 bill, a £3 bill or one of 40s. or 20s.

At the next Superior Court in Hartford in March, 1724, Shevie, formerly of Middletown but lately of Wethersfield, was indicted for having made a plate to print the 5s. bill of Connecticut (PLATE XVI). He was tried, convicted and sentenced to be imprisoned, to stand in the pillory and to have his right ear cropped. That same month,

writing in prison, he addressed a petition to the judges of the Superior Court. He pointed out that he had already spent sixteen or seventeen weeks in a dark, stinking and nasty jail, with only a little straw for a bed and with poor clothing on him. This was also in the winter, and his bodily health and mind had suffered. He requested that he be not maimed by cropping so as to be debarred from earning his daily bread in any honest employment of schooling or other labor. What town, he asked, would receive him as schoolmaster with a cropped ear? He begged to be released from payment of fines or costs and asked to be allowed to take an oath in secret never to counterfeit and also to act as an informer and agent to seek out counterfeiters and denounce them to the authorities.

By May he had stood in the pillory and had been cropped. He then petitioned the Assembly, asking to be released and complaining that he now had no straw on which to lie, that he was always in iron chains, that it was bitterly cold and that there had been no fire in March and April. His old outer coat had not been off him at all, and, of late, he had received a short allowance of food, so that he suffered gripes within his body as well as anguish of mind. Perhaps Shevie exaggerated when he wrote of the prison fare, for James Henderson, keeper of the Hartford jail, said he spent seven shillings on Shevie for food and drink instead of the 2/6 allowed.<sup>32</sup>

In September Shevie directed a last desperate appeal for mercy to the Assembly. He had been, he wrote, a prisoner in the Hartford jail for nearly eleven months in close confinement and all the time in iron chains; his suffering was more than tongue or pen could express; he had received his public punishment in May and since March had been given only bread and water, supplemented by a little food sent him by charitable persons; he had no bed to lie on; his breeches were nearly worn off him; his strength was weakened, his understanding was impaired and he was perplexed with vermin. This time the Assembly harkened to his prayer and ordered his release on condition that he leave the colony within one month and with the under-

<sup>32</sup> Conn. Archives, Finance and Currency III, 376.

standing that he be imprisoned again if he did not depart within that time or if he again came into the colony.<sup>33</sup>

Israel Scias had the effrontery to ask for the £20 reward as informer against Shevie,<sup>34</sup> but this was denied and it was granted, properly enough, to Benjamin Judd.<sup>35</sup> Barns was indicted in March at the Superior Court held in Hartford for having printed a 5s. Connecticut bill upon a plate of pewter,<sup>36</sup> but there is no record of any trial.

*Peter Gardner*

Connecticut was deeply interested in the case of one Peter Gardner, who, according to Judge Sewall, was examined in Boston "about his putting off Connecticut £5 Bills of Credit, being Counterfeit."<sup>37</sup> Gardner was committed to prison on Saturday, August 1,<sup>38</sup> and news thereof was sent by the Secretary of Massachusetts to Connecticut. At its October, 1724, session the Connecticut Assembly considered the letter which requested that two of the signers of the Connecticut bills be present at Boston on the first Tuesday in November to convict Gardner. Mr. Secretary Wyll, one of the signers, was clerk of the county court to be held at Hartford, and the court was adjourned that he might go to Boston.<sup>39</sup> The Assembly also instructed Timothy Green, printer of the Connecticut bills, to attend the court in Boston to testify against Gardner and to take with him the plate from which the genuine £5 bills were struck.<sup>40</sup> Despite the efforts made by Connecticut, the jury saw fit to acquit Gardner.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* VI, p. 487. The evidence concerning Shevie is found in C. & M. III, 24-41, Conn. Archives, Finance and Currency II, 377 and S.C. Files, Hartford, March, 1724. A 5s. bill made by Shevie is item 39 in C. & M. III.

<sup>34</sup> C. & M. III, 32.

<sup>35</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* VI, pp. 472-473.

<sup>36</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, March, 1724.

<sup>37</sup> Sewall's Diary, 5 *Massachusetts Historical Collections* III, p. 339.

<sup>38</sup> *Boston Gazette*, Aug. 3, 1724, p. 2 and *Boston News-Letter*, Aug. 6, 1724, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Conn. Archives, Finance and Currency I, 363.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* I, 360 and *Col. Rec. Conn.* VI, p. 490.

<sup>41</sup> *The New-England Courant*, Nov. 16, 1724, p. 2.

*David Colver, John Stevens and John Williams*

A 5s. Connecticut bill, altered to 40s. (PLATES XVII–XVIII) and now in the Connecticut State Library, involved three persons, David Colver of Groton, John Stevens of Windsor and John Williams of Stonington, in considerable difficulty. The story of the bill would seem to be as follows: Stevens got it from one William Dyer in Rhode Island, probably at Kingstown, where a Mr. Sheffield saw it and said he thought it might be false; about January 10, 1724, at the house of John Williams, Stevens offered the bill in payment of his reckoning to Desire Williams, wife of the landlord. She took it to her husband, who questioned it and offered to give 20s. for the 40s. note. At once David Colver, who was present, took it off Williams' hands, giving him an additional five shillings for it, and then passed it later to Jonathan Colver. Jonathan discovered it was false, and, when David refused to take it back, he showed it to Nehemiah Smith, J.P., who went with Jonathan to David. When David again refused to take it back, the justice of the peace took possession of it and it was shown to the treasurer of the colony and declared false.

Warrants were issued for the arrest of David Colver, John Williams and John Stevens, all of whom were bound over to appear at the Superior Court to be held in New London in September. Colver was released on bail provided by himself, John Williams and Moses Fisk of Groton, while Stevens was freed on bail in the same amount provided by himself and John Dean of Groton; Williams also secured a bail bond in the amount of £150.

Both Colver and Stevens were indicted at the September session of the Superior Court but the grand jury returned both indictments ignoramus and the prisoners were freed by proclamation upon payment of costs. Williams did not appear at the March session of the court in 1725 but his wife informed the judges that he was too ill to attend and he wrote the court a letter to that effect, so that his case was continued to September, when he was indicted, pleaded not guilty, was tried, acquitted and discharged on payment of costs.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> S.C. Files, New London, Sept., 1724 and Sept., 1725; S.C. Records IV, Sept. 24, 1724, March 23, 1725, and Sept. 28, 1725.

*William Carrick*

Information was lodged, presumably in 1725 or 1726, against a certain William Carrick, for making and passing counterfeit bills. The disposition of the case is not recorded but the informer, Joseph Dewey of Hebron, asked and received from the Assembly in October, 1726, the sum of £4.<sup>43</sup> Since he did not obtain £20 it is likely that Carrick was arrested and then escaped from jail.

Another affair of which the outcome is not recorded concerned a Dr. Holloway, who lived in Pomfret or Killingly. An informer complained against him to the governor, who laid before the council an information that Holloway

with some other persons in company, have got engraving irons, molds to cast plates in, colours to print with, and are intending to print false bills in imitation of the true bills of this Colony. The matter of information appears so credible, that 'tis believed something of that nature is practicing.

*Whereupon it is resolved*, That the Governour direct the informer to go to Pomfrett to said Holloway, make further private discovery how far they have proceeded, and where the utensils for carrying on that vile practice are lodged, and then make speedy information of the matter to Justice Levinz of Kellingly, that the said justice may arrest the persons and examine them, and proceed further in that affair as his prudence shall direct him.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* VII, p. 84.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* VII, p. 118.

4.



## THE YEARS 1730-1740

*Samuel Wood*

About the middle of June, 1730, Samuel Wood, a transient person, was arrested and brought before the county court in Hartford, where he told the following story: he had come from Esopus, New York, together with Peter and John Levingston and one Gardner in a boat commanded by Captain John Knott; his business was to receive some money from Thomas Starr of Middletown, where in April he had passed a £3 New York bill to a Mr. Banks, who returned it to him; he then passed the same note to John Smith of Hartford, who discovered it to be altered from 3/6 to £3 (PLATE XIX); in April he had also uttered a £4 New York bill to William Hooker, who had returned it to him on the ground that it was altered; Wood asserted that he had received the £3 bill from a Palatine who lived about eighteen miles above Esopus and the £4 bill from John Person in Esopus. Wood was released on bail of £20 furnished by himself and John Biggelow jointly for his appearance at the next Superior Court to be held in Hartford.

From the evidence of three persons who were questioned it became clear that Wood knew full well that both bills were altered before he uttered them. Thomas Colman testified that he saw the £4 bill before it was passed to Mr. Hooker and that he told Wood it was counterfeit, showing why this was so. Joseph Gilbert, Jr., on June 23 made oath that toward the end of April at Mr. Cook's in Hartford Sam Wood had showed him the same £4 bill, which he, Gilbert, declared to him had been altered from a 4s. or a 4/6 bill to £4 and warned him against passing it. Wood, indeed, had agreed that it must be false and promised that he would not utter it. Captain Knott declared that Wood had asked him to change the £3 New York bill which Wood had later

paid Smith. Knott had refused and pointed out to Wood that the bill was altered, showing that the £ at the bottom of the bill was leaning the wrong way, that there was no £ sign to two three pounds at the bottom within the body of the bill and finally that he could not find "three pounds" where it should be mentioned in the body of the bill.<sup>1</sup>

At the Superior Court held in Hartford on September 8, 1730, Wood was called three times but did not appear, so the bond provided by John Biggelow was declared forfeited.<sup>2</sup> On June 24, 1731, the Sheriff of Hartford County was ordered to bring Biggelow to court to show cause why execution should not go forth against him for the £20.<sup>3</sup>

*John Abbott and Joseph Waterhouse*

A dispatch from New London in the Boston newspapers reported that on November 25 John Abbott had been committed to jail in that place for counterfeiting the last emission of the £5 bills of Rhode Island and that a few days later the plates from which the bills were struck had been found.<sup>4</sup> Abbott, however, did not come to trial, for on February 7, 1732, he made his escape as is told in the following account in the *New-England Weekly Journal* of February 14:

In our Number CCXLVI we inform'd the Publick that one *Abbot* was committed to New London Prison . . . of whom we have this further Account, that as he was in close Prison his Wife had frequently the Liberty of being let into the same to visit him, that last Monday Evening she being let in as usual, while they were there, they got off his Fetters and chang'd Apparel one with another, after which *Abbot* call'd to the Keeper to let out his Wife, and the Door being open'd he came out being dress'd in her Apparel, and went thro' a Room where was several Persons sitting, making

<sup>1</sup> The material dealing with Wood is found in C. & M. III, 148-149. The £3 bill is item 147 in C. & M. III.

<sup>2</sup> S.C. Records 5½, Sept. 8, 1730.

<sup>3</sup> C. & M. III, 150.

<sup>4</sup> *New-England Weekly Journal*, Dec. 6, 1731, p. 2; *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Dec. 9, 1731, p. 2.

them the usual Complements of a Woman, and pass'd off undiscover'd; the next Morning *Abbot's* Wife call'd to the Keeper, and desir'd to be releas'd from her Confinement, which accordingly was done, tho' to his great surprize. There had been diligent Search made for the said *Abbot*, but nothing could be heard of him on Wednesday last.<sup>5</sup>

Before long Abbott was heard of again, this time in the company of Joseph Waterhouse of Saybrook. About the middle of April, 1732. Waterhouse, who was master of a sloop lying near "Eles Neck," employed Thomas Monk and Samuel Suard to go to buy for him two quarts of rum, some pork and three pounds of sugar, to pay for which he gave Suard a 40s. Rhode Island bill. Suard turned the money over to Monk, who bought the sugar and rum from Hannah Hull, wife of Captain Josiah Hull, and gave the change to Suard, while Suard handed it over to Waterhouse. Waterhouse himself went one night to Lydia Lockwood, wife of Lieutenant James Lockwood, and bought of her, in the presence of Mrs. Deborah Benedick, a barrel of cider, which he took away in a cart. He paid with a 40s. Rhode Island bill, and Mrs. Lockwood gave him twenty shillings in change. He also at about this time uttered another 40s. bill to Joshua Raymond of Norwalk.

His companion was about the same nefarious business, for Elizabeth Hoyt, wife of Daniel Hoyt, was paid a 40s. Rhode Island bill by a stranger who was a "short well set man, broad flatt face a short neck a brownish complexion," whose name she was later told was Abbott.

It was presently discovered that all these bills were false, and on April 19 a warrant was issued at Greenwich by Joshua Knapp, J.P. for the arrest of Waterhouse and Abbott. Samuel Miles, Sr., of Greenwich seized Waterhouse and found in his chest on board the sloop two copper plates, from which the bills had been made, and six or seven bills not yet finished. With a posse of eight men he also made a vain pursuit after Abbott.

Two days later Constable Isaac Brown of Norwalk complained to John Copp, J.P., who issued a warrant for the arrest of Waterhouse.

<sup>5</sup> The same version is printed in the *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Feb. 17, 1732, p. 2

who, it would seem, must have been released by Justice Knapp or had escaped from custody. In any event Waterhouse was now taken and turned over to the jailer in Norwalk by Constable Joseph St. John of that town.

In May, Waterhouse, confined in the jail of Fairfield County, sent word to his brother, Abraham Waterhouse of Saybrook, begging him to take pity on him and to furnish the bail necessary for his release. Abraham was induced to sign a bond of £300 for his brother's appearance at the Superior Court to be held in August. When the court met, Waterhouse was indicted for passing false bills but failed to appear, so his bond was declared forfeited. Abraham Waterhouse sent a memorial to the Assembly and in October, 1733, that body reduced the amount he must pay to £150 plus costs, and the sheriff of the county, Ebenezer Dimon, was then to be acquitted of the judgment of £300 given by the Superior Court against him for his failure to produce Joseph Waterhouse.<sup>6</sup>

*Joseph Miller, Hezekiah Cox and Hill Chandley*

On April 26, 1732, three persons, Joseph Miller of Wethersfield, his journeyman, Hezekiah Cox, who was a saddler by trade, and a transient, Hill Chandley, were taken into custody because of a complaint made against them by Joseph Farnsworth. The story of their activities, as learned from their examinations and a petition of Cox, is as follows: Cox was born and raised in Philadelphia, where he married and had one child; on coming to Connecticut he found employment with Joseph Miller in Wethersfield and lived at the home of Miller and his wife Abigail; there Cox was introduced to some evil-minded persons who intended to engage in counterfeiting; Miller gave Hill Chandley some 2s. Connecticut bills, which Chandley imitated in about half an hour; later Chandley forged £3 Massachu-

<sup>6</sup> The material relating to this affair is to be found in C. & M. III, 171-172; S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1730-1739, Smi-Z, Aug., 1732; *Col. Rec. Conn.* VII, p. 478.

setts bills and with money given him by Miller bought paper, lamp-black and red lead for counterfeiting purposes; Cox passed some of the bad money, one £3 bill to John Austin of Hartford and another to Mrs. Anne Smith, also of Hartford.

When the authorities instituted a search after them, Cox and Chandley fled and hid in the barn of Charles Buckley. They were, however, found and taken up, together with Miller, and all three were lodged in jail from April 27 to June 2. Cox and Chandley were indicted on May 23 at the Superior Court held in Hartford, Chandley for forging two £3 Massachusetts bills and Cox for passing them. Miller apparently was not prosecuted but was released on June 2. Chandley was tried and acquitted but Cox was convicted and punished in accordance with the law. Farnsworth, as informer, asked for and doubtless received the reward of £20 due him.<sup>7</sup> In October the Assembly took under consideration a petition sent by Cox from the workhouse, where he had been sentenced to serve for life. He begged that he might be released and allowed to trade and deal in order to support his wife and child. His release was voted on condition that he pay all costs and then leave the colony and reside no more therein.<sup>8</sup>

*Thomas Enis, Jr.*

In July, 1732, Thomas Enis, Jr., of Lyme tried to induce Mary Blague of Saybrook, at the house of Isaac Watrus (or Waterhouse), a joiner of Lyme, to change a 3s. Rhode Island bill that had been altered to 30s. Mrs. Blague refused and then Enis passed it to John Ingraham, Jr., of Saybrook, and he, in turn, uttered it to Samuel Tinker, who discovered that it was false. The cheat was brought to the attention of John Griswold, J.P., of Lyme, who on February 15, 1733, had Enis arrested and after examining him bound him over to appear at the Superior Court. Enis was then released on bail of £300

<sup>7</sup> On this affair see C. & M. III, 155-161 and S.C. Records 6, May 23, 1732.

<sup>8</sup> C. & M. III, 162.

furnished by himself, his father, Thomas Enis, Sr., and Ephraim Brockway, all of Lyme.<sup>9</sup> The final disposition of the case is not recorded.

*John Bellamy*

John Bellamy, a blacksmith, who had a shop in the Parish of Horseneck in Greenwich, was complained of on January 23, 1735, to Nathaniel Peck, J.P., by Solomon Close, a grand juror of Fairfield County. Close charged that the blacksmith had been coining and passing half pistoles. The justice issued a warrant, and Constable Nathan Reynolds apprehended Bellamy and took him before the magistrate. At the hearing Jabez John Quick, John Adington, Ely Parson and Uriah Harmell gave evidence that induced Justice Peck to order that the prisoner be jailed. Thomas Hill, the sheriff, however, released his charge in bail of £100 but the blacksmith failed to appear at the Superior Court held in Fairfield on February 25, 1735, so that the sheriff was ordered to pay a fine of £100.

Constable Reynolds on April 30 complained of Bellamy to Ebenezer Mead, J.P., who had the suspected counterfeiter arrested, examined him and bound him over to the next session of the Superior Court. This time Bellamy secured bail of £500, furnished by Gersham Lockwood. The witnesses at the hearing before the justice were Abraham Todd, Theophilus Peck, Joshua Knapp, Nathaniel and Ezekiel Lockwood and Nathan Smith. Nathaniel Lockwood had obtained a half pistole, made by Bellamy, from his brother, Ezekiel Lockwood. Abraham Todd stated that after Bellamy had forfeited his bond of £100 by not appearing at court in February he, Todd, had seen iron dies in the blacksmith's possession and had remonstrated with him about his evil conduct, telling him what a grief he would be to his father. Bellamy was charged at the Superior Court on August 26 with having made Spanish half pistoles out of brass and other

<sup>9</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1733.

base metals but the grand jury returned the indictment *ignoramus*, and he was discharged on payment of costs.<sup>10</sup> From Branford Bellamy sent a petition to the Assembly in October asking that he be permitted to give a bond of £100 and that the sentence against Sheriff Hill then be declared fully satisfied,<sup>11</sup> a request which was probably granted. In any event Bellamy does not seem to have been further molested until 1739, when he was residing in Wallingford.

A little is known of his movements between 1735 and 1739: he had made a trip to England, probably in 1736, and in the summer of 1738, according to the testimony of Thomas Philips of Durham, he was going by the name of "John Bello" and travelled in Philip's company from Litchfield to Albany. He had not mended his ways, for about the middle of February he passed two counterfeit 5s. New York bills, one to Samuel Cooke of Cheshire and the other to Henry Bristoll of Wallingford. Samuel Darling of New Haven traced one such bill back to Bellamy and on February 27, 1739, complained against him to Joseph Whiting, assistant. Whiting had Bellamy arrested and examined him on March 2. The prisoner said that he had obtained the false bills either three years before from Moses Clark of New Haven or from his father, Matthew Bellamy, in the summer of 1738. He was released on bail of £300 provided by himself and his father for his appearance at the Superior Court to be held in New Haven in August. On the second day of the session he came before the court and was indicted, but on the following day, when called three times, he did not appear, and the bond was declared forfeited. Darling, the informer, was granted the reward of £20.<sup>12</sup> Bellamy seemingly decided that it

<sup>10</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1730-1739, August, 1735; S.C. Records 5½, Febr. 25 and Aug. 26, 1735.

<sup>11</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* VIII, p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> S.C. Files, New Haven, all terms, 1741; C. & M. IV, 9-11; S.C. Records VII, Aug. 28, 1739. In August, 1740, Matthew complained to the Superior Court in New Haven that he should not pay the forfeited bond since it had been given for John's appearance to answer to a future accusation and John had actually appeared (S.C. Files, New Haven, all terms, 1741).

was too dangerous to remain in Connecticut and now transferred his counterfeiting activities to the Jerseys.<sup>13</sup>

*Ivory Lucas*

In 1735 one Ivory Lucas, a worker in metals, presumably either a silversmith or a blacksmith, was living in New London and had in his service two apprentices, Nicholas Ghanter and George Dennis. In June he executed a commission for John Gardner of the Isle of Wight, referred to by one of the apprentices as "My Lord Gardner." The task was the making of about one thousand Spanish pistoles of brass (probably with alloy of other metal), which were stamped out on a rock, both sides of the coin being struck at the same time. The result was, apparently, fairly satisfactory, for Lucas told his apprentices that the pieces would do to send off to sea. Gardner, who paid ten pence for each counterfeit, put away the coins at home in a box and probably intended to take them away to the Isle of Wight. In any case it was his plan to keep them until his death and leave them for his children.

The business probably came to light through the fact that Ghanter found one of the false pistoles and gave it, to be kept for him, to Mary Tilden of Lebanon, to whom he recounted the whole story. Mary very likely talked of the matter and in any event it came to the attention of John Richards, J.P., who on June 12 had Lucas arrested and bound him over to the Superior Court to be held in New London on September 23. The suspected coiner was released on bail of £500, which was furnished by Lucas himself, Solomon Coit of New London and William Brookfield of Lyme. He was indicted in September for coining and passing, was tried, found guilty of coining, though not of passing, and sentenced to be imprisoned for six months and to pay costs of £13/11/2.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1955), pp. 61-62 and "Earliest Counterfeiting in New Jersey," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* LXXV (1957), p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> S.C. Files, New London, Sept., 1735; S.C. Records VI, Sept. 23, 1735.



*Henry Basil (or Bassell)*

Henry Basil (or Bassell) of Middletown fell under suspicion of making and passing bad paper money. He had lived, before coming to Connecticut, in Newport, Rhode Island, where he had a brother named John and where, according to depositions made by a Mr. Lyndon and by Joshua Stetson of that town, he was considered to be worth £1,000 and was known to have money to lend. He was taken into custody on August 23, 1735, by Deputy Sheriff Timothy Bigelow and was examined by Nathaniel Stanly, assistant. Bigelow had found four counterfeit bills in his possession, three of £5 and one of 10s., all of Connecticut. The prisoner claimed that he had received the 10s. bill from a man in Westfield for two books but said he did not recall where he had obtained the other notes.

Previously, it was ascertained, Basil had tried in Boston to pass a bad £5 Connecticut bill to a Mrs. Bridgham, who scrupled it, and, when a justice of the peace there named Tylor asked to see the bill, Basil had refused to show it. One Abijah Bunce, a sailor on Captain James Knowles' sloop, testified that when the ship was at Boston Basil had put on board two boxes, which he said were worth £500, and told Bunce to take special care not to wet them. Soon Deacon Bridgham had sent for Bunce and questioned him about Basil. According to the deacon, Basil had offered him a false £5 Connecticut bill and, when he informed Basil that it was counterfeit, Basil had hastily snatched it out of his hand.

Nathaniel Stanly set bail for his prisoner at the extraordinarily high figure of £1,000, which Basil could not furnish, so that he was imprisoned until the next session of the Superior Court at Hartford in September. He was then charged with forging a 10s. Connecticut bill but the grand jury returned his indictment ignoramus, and it was ordered that he be dismissed on payment of costs.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1735.

*William Mortimore and his Associates*

In September, 1735, discovery was made of a band of counterfeiters who included in their operations the forging of Connecticut paper money. The *Boston Evening-Post* of Monday, September 15, 1735, published this item:

We have an Account from *Providence*, that one Dilsell has lately been committed to Prison there, for uttering counterfeit Bills on the Colony of *Connecticut*, there being found upon him when taken up, near *One Hundred Pounds* in the said Counterfeit Bills, mostly of the highest Denomination. 'Tis said he has made a full Discovery of that villanous Affair, and that he received his Bills of one *William Mortimore*, to put off for him, for which Service he was to have one half, and said that *Mortimore* was gone towards Boston, and that another Person was concerned, who lives at the Eastward. Information of this coming to Town, Search was made for the said *Mortimore*, and last Monday Night he was taken in a publick House near the Town-Dock, and carried before Mr. Justice *Savage*, where he was examined and searched, and there was found in his Pocket-Book, 4 counterfeit *Ten Shilling* Bills, and in the Foot of a Stocking in his Portmanteau one *Five Pound* and 8 *Ten Shilling* Bills. He said he took them in Trade, and denied that he knew them to be counterfeit: However, he was committed to Prison, where he is like to lie till the Assizes in *February* next. He has been used for some Time to Trade in Lumber between the Eastward and *Rhoad-Island*. It is said that these counterfeit Bills were struck off and signed in *Ireland*, and a Chest full of them brought into these Parts, and that *Ten* or *Twelve Thousand Pounds* has already been uttered. They are of the following Denominations, viz. *Five Pounds*, *Forty Shillings*, *Twenty Shillings*, and *Ten Shillings*.

The person named Dilsell was probably the "Forrist Dolzin" mentioned in correspondence between the governors of Connecticut and Massachusetts. Governor Talcott wrote from Hartford on September 29, 1735, to Governor Belcher:

And, Sir, I hear you have taken into custody, Forrist Dolzin, and W<sup>m</sup> Mortimore, on suspicion of counterfeiting the £5 and ten s. bills of this Gov<sup>r</sup>ment, &c. And it's also reported here that a chest is secured,

wherein is found £100,000 counterfeits. If so it be, it's a favor to us in particular, and if the perpetrators of such Villineys may be convict and receive their just punishment, that others may here fear, it will be a favor to the world.

I remember when Peter Gardner had his tryal at Boston, for counterfeiting the £5 Bills of this Gov<sup>r</sup>ment, our Printer was sent for to bring the Plate, &c. And if these fellows, or either of them should be brought to tryal, and our plates or anything else from us will be necessary to be had there, I shall be glad to hear of it by the bearer, or the first opportunity, that nothing may be wanting on our part for the effectual prosecution of such wretches as would destroy the publick currency, and thereby bring a disadvantage upon all trade and commerce between the Gov<sup>r</sup>ments.<sup>16</sup>

The Council of Connecticut did not share Governor Talcott's views on cooperation and through its secretary, George Wyllys, informed the Governor of Massachusetts that their signers were prevented by bodily infirmities from attending the trial and that neither their presence nor that of the Connecticut plate was deemed necessary for conviction, as Governor Belcher seemed to believe.<sup>17</sup> It is small wonder that Belcher replied expressing the surprise of his government at the answer from Connecticut and the doubt of the judges in Massachusetts that the persons would be convicted for want of the signers and plates.<sup>18</sup>

The Massachusetts authorities in any event were energetic in their investigations, which had started with the arrest of Dilsell or Dolzin. The *Boston Evening-Post* of September 22, 1735, carried this account :

On Tuesday last, *John Davis*, Master of a coasting Sloop, was committed to Prison here (Boston), on Suspicion of uttering counterfeit Bills on the Colony of *Connecticut*. He has several Times since been examined by some of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and has made a free and open Confession of his Guilt, and discovered his Accomplices, and 'tis not doubted but that he will be admitted an Evidence for the King against such of his Brethren in Iniquity as are or shall be taken.

<sup>16</sup> *The Talcott Papers, Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society* IV (Hartford: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1892), pp. 322–323.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* IV, pp. 325–326.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* IV, p. 330.

We hear that two Men have been taken up for the same offence at *Wells*, but instead of committing them to Prison, we are told they are admitted to Bail, one in *three* and the other in *five hundred Pounds*, tho' it is Death by the Law to counterfeit the Bills of Credit, or to utter them knowing them to be such, 'Tis said the principal Offender has made his Escape.

Davis' confession, made on September 18, 1735, has been preserved and tells how, about November, 1733, he met William Patten of Wells at his blacksmith shop. Patten gave him ten 25s. bills of New Hampshire and told him he might keep half of the proceeds from all he could pass. At Piscataqua, however, Davis heard talk of counterfeit 25s. bills in circulation, so he made no effort to pass those he had. Later, at Wells, he gave an account of this to Patten, who told him that John Macdonnell was gone to Ireland to get some £5 bills made and that upon his return Davis might have some of the £5 bills to pass.

In the fall of 1734 Davis met Patten in Boston, and Patten then came to Davis' house in company with Macdonnell and William Mortimore. Davis took Mortimore to Wells, where Mortimore showed him a bundle of £5 Connecticut bills which he said he had brought over with him. Later in the same day Patten gave Davis £42 in £5 and 10s. bills to be passed off, while a few days later Macdonnell gave him twenty-two £5 bills for the same purpose. Davis then sailed for Boston and kept the bills in a wig box. Eventually he tried to pass a £5 bill to Mr. Brewster and another to Captain Winter but both bills were refused as bad. Still later he heard that one Bragden, a miller in York, had a considerable quantity of the new bills.

In August, 1735, Davis seemingly became worried, for he threw them overboard, tied up in a piece of bunting with a brick, keeping out only six £5 bills which he passed in Newport. In July he had obtained of Mortimore five 25s. bills, one of which he passed in Rhode Island and the rest of which he tore into pieces at sea. Davis also claimed that he saw Mortimore pass a number of counterfeits: a £5 bill at Mr. Whiting's and another of the same denomination at Burden's Ferry in Rhode Island; a 10s. bill to Mr. Howard at Newport and

another to Mr. Jackson on the Long Wharf in Boston, and a £5 bill to a woman who kept a public house at the Sign of the White Horse between Newbury and Hampton.<sup>19</sup>

As a result, no doubt, of Davis' disclosures five persons were arrested in York County, among them Macdonald, who was said to have brought in £100,000 in counterfeits from Ireland.<sup>20</sup> A special court of Assize was appointed to try the counterfeiters but was, for some reason, quickly dissolved.<sup>21</sup>

The Connecticut General Assembly in session in October, 1735, being informed that the colony's £5, 40s., 10s., and 2s. bills had been counterfeited, ordered that £25,000 of new bills be struck from new plates "to be engraved deeper and fairer" and that the Treasurer of the Colony use them to exchange for the emission that had been counterfeited.<sup>22</sup> It was further decided that the public be warned, and the following proclamation signed by Governor Talcott and dated "Hartford, November 11, 1735," was printed as an advertisement in the *Boston Evening-Post* of December 1, 1735:

To prevent Persons being deceived, and suffering Loss and Damage by Counterfeit Bills, &c. Let all Persons, and more especially the Treasurer of this Colony of Connecticut, take heed at their Peril, that He or They be not deceived in Taking the Counterfeits of the £.V 40s. 10s. 5s. or 2s. Bills of the said Colony taken off of the old Plates; especially the Halves or Quarters of said Bills, which are much more Difficult to be discern'd when Counterfeit, than when they are Whole.

The Assembly in May of the next year passed an act forbidding the halving or quartering of any Connecticut bills and ordering the treasurer to accept halved or quartered bills up to May 20th next but

<sup>19</sup> Davis' declaration is published in the *Boston Public Library Bulletin* VII (1902), pp. 75-77.

<sup>20</sup> *Boston Evening-Post*, Sept. 29, 1735, p. 2; *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Oct. 2, 1735, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Boston Evening-Post*, Oct. 13, 1735, p. 2 and Nov. 3, 1735, p. 2; *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Nov. 6, 1735, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* VIII, p. 17.

after that date not to receive or pay out such divided bills. The preamble to the act reads:

Whereas the bills of credit of this Colony of sundry denominations have been counterfeited and uttered by evilminded persons; and further to carry on the fraud and deceit, it hath been wickedly practiced to break said bills into halves and quarters; whereby our publick officers and private persons are rendered unable to discover the counterfeit bills and the cheat and deceit therein...<sup>23</sup>

It may be noted that the Massachusetts Assembly soon took similar action by forbidding the tearing or defacing of its own paper money or of the bills of the neighboring colonies, and in October, 1737, Connecticut passed a further act to prevent the dividing of its bills.<sup>24</sup>

Massachusetts had a number of persons charged with counterfeiting who were to be prosecuted. Before they came to trial, one of them, William Mortimore, on January 29, 1736, escaped, in company with a burglar and a deserter, from the jail in Boston, and a reward of ten pounds was offered for his capture.<sup>25</sup> In June the trial of the remaining prisoners was held and was reported as follows in the *Boston Weekly News-Letter* of July 1, 1736:

At His Majesty's Court of Assize and general Goal delivery held at York, in and for the County of York, on the 3d Wednesday of June current, William Patten of Wells in said County, Joseph Bragdon and Jeddediah Prebble both of said York, and William Mortimore late of said York, were indicted by the Grand Jury for said County, for counseling, advising and assisting in forging and counterfeiting several false and counterfeit *Twenty-five Shilling Bills* of the Province of *New-Hampshire*, and several *Five Pound* and *Ten Shilling Bills* of the Colony of *Connecticut*; and at the said Court John Mackdonald, of Wells, aforesaid, was indicted for procuring to be forged and counterfeited several false and counterfeit *Twenty-five Shilling Bills* of *New-Hampshire* aforesaid, and several false and counter-

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* VIII, pp. 34-35; the *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Dec. 2, 1736, p. 2, carried an advertisement about the act and called on all holders of halved or quartered Connecticut bills to turn them in to the treasurer before May 1, 1737.

<sup>24</sup> *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Feb. 24, 1737, p. 2 and Dec. 8, 1737, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> *Boston Evening-Post*, Feb. 2, 1736, p. 2.

feit *Five Pound* and *Ten Shilling* Bills, of *Connecticut* aforesaid: The said *Patten* pleaded Not Guilty, & the Jury declared him Not guilty, and he was acquitted, paying Costs: The said *Macdonald* also pleaded Not guilty, but the Jury found him guilty, and the Verdict being recorded, the Court ask'd the said *Macdonald*, What he had to say, why Sentence should not be given against him according to the Law on which the Indictment was founded? who prayed the Benefit of Clergy which was granted him; and Sentence was that he should be burnt in the Hand, suffer six Months Imprisonment and pay Costs. — — — *Bragdon* and *Prebble* were not tried, Mr. Attorney General moving to the Court, he had not some Evidence, which he was in hopes of getting by next Term. *Mortimore* was not tried, he having sometime since escaped out of *Boston* Goal; but it is to be hoped there will be an Opportunity for him to clear himself, or to suffer the Punishment he deserves.

John Macdonald was also sentenced by the court to make good to the parties concerned all counterfeited 25s. New Hampshire bills that had, by his means or procurement, been passed and uttered and that should be brought into the office of the clerk of the court within the next six months.<sup>26</sup>

#### *Amos Allen*

In June, 1735, in Norwich Amos Allen of Windsor passed to William Whitney of Norwich a 20s. Connecticut bill which considerably later was discovered to be altered from 2s. to 20s. (PLATES XXI–XXII). Whitney took the bill on November 28 to Samuel Lynde, assistant, who immediately had Allen arrested and proceeded to examine him. Allen said he had obtained the note from Thomas Warner, and Warner had secured it from Benjamin Babcock. Allen was released on bail of £50, furnished by Allen himself and Jonathan Avery of Windham, for his appearance at the Superior Court to be held in New London in March, 1736. The indictment for passing was brought in ignoramus by the grand jury, so Allen was dismissed.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, June 28, 1736, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1736. The bill in question, torn into two pieces, is preserved in the Connecticut State Library.

*Samuel Fox, 2nd*

In December, 1738, a false £5 Connecticut bill was stopped in the hands of one Waterhouse in Lyme by Richard Lord, J. P. Lord examined Waterhouse and then other persons until he came to the conclusion that the culprit was Samuel Fox, 2nd., of New London. He released Fox on bail of £100 for his appearance at the Superior Court to be held in Norwich on March 4, 1739. Fox was indicted but when called three times he did not appear and his bail was declared forfeited. Justice Lord then applied to the Assembly for a reward of £20 as informer, but this was refused. When, however, the magistrate pointed out that "at one time and another" he had stopped six £5 counterfeit Connecticut bills, four £5 Rhode Island counterfeits and also several bills of the denominations of 40s., 10s. and 5s., amounting in all to nearly £60, the Assembly voted him £10 for his services.<sup>28</sup>

By March 30, 1739, Fox had been taken up and also in custody were Hugh Mosier and Stephen Potter, all of them suspected of having passed the false bill. On that date a warrant was issued summoning as witnesses against the three prisoners William Darrow, Benjamin Lester, James Harris, Lucia Harris (wife of Richard Harris), Asa Manering and Charles Hayns, all of New London. There is no record of what befell Fox or Mosier, but the indictment against Potter, who was charged with having passed the counterfeit bill about December 25, 1738, to Nathan Marvin of Lyme, was returned ignoramus by the grand jury, and he was discharged.<sup>29</sup>

Counterfeit Connecticut 5s. bills were circulating in 1739, as was discovered when Major Pyncheon at Springfield on January 30 committed to jail some men who had uttered false £5 bills of Rhode Island and 5s. bills of Connecticut. When they were searched, counterfeit Rhode Island bills to the value of £400 and Connecticut counterfeits to the value of about £40 were found on them.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> C. & M. IV, 21-22, 29.

<sup>29</sup> S.C. Files, New London, 1739.

<sup>30</sup> *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 5, 1739, p. 2; *Boston Evening-Post*, Feb. 5, 1739, p. 2; *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Feb. 8, 1739, p. 2.



In July a warning to this effect appeared in Boston newspapers:

To prevent unwary Persons from being imposed upon 'tis tho't proper to inform the Publick, that last Monday a Discovery was made of a fresh Counterfeit, in Imitation of the *Five Shilling* Bill of the old Plate of *Connecticut*: The Face of the Bill seems nearly imitated, except that it is done off something smutty; but the Back side of the Bill at first View discovers it must be False; instead of Types or Printing-Letters, a Plate is made use of, the Mark of which evidently appears; and the Letters engraven throughout, are wretchedly uneven and disproportioned.<sup>31</sup>

Some of the authors of this cheat were discovered, as is revealed by the following item in the *Boston Evening-Post* of October 1, 1739:

Several Men belonging to the County of *Essex*, have lately been committed to his Majesty's Goal in this Town (Boston), on a strong Suspicion of their being concern'd with others not yet taken, in striking off and uttering false or counterfeit Bills in Imitation of the *Rhode-Island* Five Pound Bills. Vast Numbers of these false Bills are passing among us, and we are credibly informed, that there have been several Persons constantly employed in the above mentioned County, to strike off those Bills, which have been delivered to other vicious Persons their Accomplices to vend in the Country, which they have done with too good Success, notwithstanding the Publick has for a long Time been apprized of their being abroad: And by the Number and Circumstances of those said to be in the Conspiracy, (some of whom are Persons of Estate and Character) one would be tempted to think, that they had argued themselves into a Belief, that it is no Sin or Crime to cheat and defraud their honest Neighbours of their Substance, to raise their own Fortunes. But these are wretched Casuists! We are told, that the same Gang of Villans have prepared Plates for striking off several other Denominations, viz. *Rhode-Island* Three Pounds, *Connecticut* Five Shillings, &c. The *Connecticut* Five Shilling Bills are abroad, but ill done, especially the back side, which is cut on Copper, whereas the true Bills are printed on the Back with Types, as this Paper is.

In October of 1739 the Connecticut Assembly passed legislation to deal with one aspect of counterfeiting and passing. The act reads:

<sup>31</sup> *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, July 19, 1739, p. 2; *Boston Evening-Post*, July 23, 1739, p. 2.

Whereas some persons, through ignorance and inadvertency, receive for their debts and in their dealings and business, false and counterfeit bills, made in imitation of the bills of this or the neighbouring governments; and their being no expedite remedy already provided in the common course of the law for the possessor or possessors against such person or persons that shall have delivered and passed said bill or bills; whereby great injustice is done: For remedy whereof,

*Be it enacted by the Governour, Council and Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same,* That whensoever any person shall be the possessor of any false or counterfeit bill, made in imitation of the bills of credit of this or the neighbouring governments, it shall be the duty of such person, upon his discovering the same to be false or counterfeit, to carry and deliver the same to some assistant or justice of the peace and inform him that he concludes the same to be false and counterfeit; and if such assistant or justice of the peace shall suppose the same to be false, as aforesaid, he shall seize the same and write the name of the person of whom he receives it on the back side thereof, and that it was delivered to him as a counterfeit bill. And such person that so delivers up such bill may, after such delivery, go to the person of whom he received the same, and demand of him pay for such bill, informing him where such bill is. And if the person of whom he received the said bill shall refuse or neglect to make him satisfaction therefore, or without such demand or refusal, if need so require, may bring his action for his damages in not paying him for said bill, or for putting off such bill to him, before any court, assistant or justice of the peace, proper to try the same, alledging the same to be delivered up as aforesaid. And in the tryal of any such cause, if the bill be found to be false or counterfeit, to the satisfaction of the court that tries the same, the said court shall proceed to enquire into the equity of the cause, by examining the parties under oath and taking any other evidence as they shall judge just and right; and, upon their finding to their satisfaction that such plaintiff received the same bill of the defendant, they shall give judgment for the plaintiff for his just damages and cost of delivering up the said bill to the authority and prosecuting his action; provided always said bill was delivered up, as aforesaid, before the plaintiff offered said bill back to the person of whom he received the same.

*And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That it shall be the duty of every assistant or justice of the peace that shall have such bill

delivered to them, safely to convey the same bill to any court where the same may be wanted. And all and every person that hath had any such bill that shall by the possessor be delivered up, as aforesaid, and hath satisfied the person to whom he delivered said bill for the same, shall have the like liberty in prosecuting and taking remedy as aforesaid; provided always, that no person shall be prosecuted, in form aforesaid, but within one year after he puts off such bill, which fact may be inquired of in form aforesaid.

*And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any court, assistant or justice of the peace, hath had the possession of such counterfeit or false bill for the space of one year, he shall destroy the same.*<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* VIII, pp. 281–283.

## VI

### THE YEARS 1740-1748

#### *Ephraim Sheeler*

On February 6, 1740, Thomas Welles, J.P., of Glastonbury seized a false £5 Rhode Island bill found in the hands of Joseph Parks of Middletown. Parks, however, swore that about November 8, 1739, on Long Island he had received the bill from Ephraim Sheeler (or Shayler) of Bolton. Sheeler was arrested on February 7 and was bound over to the next session of the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in March, 1740. When the court met, proclamation was made, and, when no one appeared to prosecute, the prisoner was dismissed on payment of costs.<sup>1</sup>

#### *William Baxter*

Henry King of Middletown in March, 1741, complained to Jabez Hamlin, J.P., against William Baxter of Westchester, New York, for having on March 14 altered a 2/6 New York bill to 10s. and then passed it to the wife of Henry King. A warrant for Baxter's arrest was issued, and King, with help, went in hot pursuit of him and arrested him. Justice Hamlin committed the suspected counterfeiter to jail but Baxter was released presently on bail of £100 for his appearance at the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in September. When, however, he was called three times, he failed to appear, and his bond was forfeited. King petitioned the Assembly for the £20 reward due him as the informer and for expenses which amounted to £6/8/6, and eventually the £20 was granted him.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, March, 1740.

<sup>2</sup> C. & M. IV, 46-48; S.C. Files, Hartford, September, 1741; *Col. Rec. Conn.* VIII, p. 470.

*Daniel Orr*

In the summer of 1742 Connecticut was faced with new threats from counterfeiters. The *Boston Evening-Post* of July 26, 1742, carried the following item: "We hear that *Daniel Orr* was lately committed by the Authority at *New London* in *Connecticut*, for putting off some counterfeits in imitation of the *Five Shilling* Merchant Notes of the last Emission, there being no less than 24 of them found upon him." There seems to be no record of any trial of Orr, so it is not unlikely that he escaped from jail, though possibly he may not have been prosecuted for want of sufficient evidence.

*Jonathan Richardson and Edward Aldrich*

Within a matter of days after the arrest of Orr others were taken up. The *Boston Evening-Post* of August 2, 1742, reported:

By Letters from *Hartford* in *Connecticut*, we are informed, that they have in Goal there . . . Two [Men] for counterfeiting the *Rhode-Island* Bills emitted in the Year 1738, and Four for counterfeiting the Merchant's Notes of the last Emission. 'Tis said they had almost finished a Plate for striking off in Imitation of the *Connecticut Three Pound* Bill, which passes for *Ten Pounds Ten Shillings*.<sup>3</sup>

It was known a few days later that one of the two men mentioned as lodged in the Hartford jail was from Providence and the other from Uxbridge.<sup>4</sup>

The two men were Jonathan Richardson of Providence and Edward Aldrich of Uxbridge, Massachusetts. Unhappily for them, they became acquainted with several persons in Salem, David and Joseph Boyce, Joseph Verey, and one Linsey. David Boyce, about July 10, 1742, delivered to Richardson two false 40s. bills and told him they were such. Linsey told Aldrich that he had the plates in his house and that Joseph Boyce had printed some money on them, bills of the

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The American Weekly Mercury*, Aug. 12, 1742, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Aug. 5, 1742, p. 2.

denominations of £3 and 40s., Linsey also stated that he had almost finished a plate for Connecticut new money and that, if Richardson and Aldrich came in about a fortnight, they should have as much money as they would. Joseph Boyce had the plate from which the Merchants Notes were made and displayed a handful of them unsigned; Boyce informed them that he had let William Philips of Windham have some of them and he gave Richardson £36 in false bills in an exchange of horses. Verrey gave Aldrich a 40s. counterfeit bill to pass, with the understanding that he could keep half the profit. When Richardson and Aldrich left Salem, they had a considerable sum in bad bills, Richardson about £104 and Aldrich about £153.

In Hartford on July 22 Aldrich passed to Hannah Pitkin, wife of Samuel Pitkin, three counterfeit bills of the 1738 emission of Rhode Island, two of 40s. and one of £3, while Richardson uttered, apparently to the Pitkins, three £3 bills and one 40s. bill. Pitkin quickly discovered the cheat and complained to Joseph Buckingham, J.P., who issued a warrant for the arrest of the two men. Deputy Sheriff Timothy Bigelow overtook them in Simsbury, where he found six £3 and seven 40s. bills, all counterfeits, on the person of Aldrich; between the joist and the floor of the room where he seized the men he found a pocketbook belonging to Richardson with three £3 bills and three 40s. bills in it, all false. On July 23 Justice Buckingham bound the counterfeiters over to the next session of the Superior Court in Hartford and set bail at £500 for each. On September 7 both were indicted for passing and were tried, convicted, and sentenced, each to have his right ear cut off, to be branded on the forehead with C, to be imprisoned for life, to have all property confiscated, to be debarred forever from any trade or dealing and to pay costs.<sup>5</sup> The *Boston Evening-Post* of October 18, 1742, in reporting the sentence imposed on the counterfeiters, commented: "If some such *moderate* Punishment were to be inflicted on such Offenders in this Province, instead of *Death*, 'tis tho't we should soon exceed any of our Neighbours in Convictions."

<sup>5</sup> C. & M. IV, 55, 57; S.C. Records 8, Sept. 7, 1742.

From jail Aldrich and Richardson in October, 1742, sent to the General Assembly a joint memorial, setting forth that each had a wife and several children and little or no estate. Early in the year they had fallen in with evil persons who induced them to pass counterfeit money and they were arrested at the very beginning of their operations. Now in jail they suffered from anxiety for their families and from pinching hunger. They knew no trade to work at in jail and had but a naked floor beneath them. Their prayer for release was granted on condition that they pay all costs of prosecution, imprisonment and support in jail and the reward, £40, to the informer. Their freedom, however, was further to depend on their never being found in the colony once ten days from the date of their release had elapsed. If they should ever be discovered in Connecticut again, they would returned to the workhouse for life.<sup>6</sup>

*Robert Neal*

Connecticut was so fortunate as to escape a veritable flood of false bills through a timely arrest made by the Massachusetts authorities. On August 26, 1742, Josiah Willard, Secretary of Massachusetts, wrote as follows to Governor Jonathan Law of Connecticut:

His Excellency our Governour directs me to acquaint your Honour with a notable Discovery made here, of a Quantity of unsigned Counterfeit Bills, in Imitation of the Bills of Credit of your Colony, which with the Plates from which they were struck we seized in the Hands of one Robert Neal, who is committed to Goal; A Specimen of the Bills is herewith inclosed . . .<sup>7</sup>

The *Boston Weekly News-Letter* of the same date as Willard's letter, August 26, carried the following detailed account of the affair:

Last Week *Robert Neal* a Marriner, belonging to Salem, who lately came hither from London in Capt. *Fones*, was apprehended and examin'd before two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for uttering false Bills of the

<sup>6</sup> C. & M. IV, 56, 58.

<sup>7</sup> *The Law Papers* (Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society) (Hartford: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1907) I, p. 56.

Colony of Rhode-Island in imitation of those emitted in the Year 1740, five of which Bills, were found about him, viz. four Ten Shillings and one of Five Shillings.

Upon some further Examination he acknowledged that the said Bills were made and sign'd in London, and that he brought over a Number with him, which were in a Box hid in a rocky Place, at Salem; accordingly the Officers, taking him along with them to the Place he told them of, and after considerable Pains in turning over a great many large Stones, they at last found the said Box hid underneath one of them, and came to Town with it last Saturday Evening; Upon opening the Box there was found in it four Plates engraven, one Plate containing 2 Bills in imitation of the above mention'd 10s. and 5s. of the Colony of Rhode-Island, with a Plate for the Back-side of the said Bills; on another Plate, was two in imitation of the 7s. and 12s. of the Colony of Connecticut, the last Emission, and also a Plate for the Back-side of the said Bills in imitation of printing Letters. In the said Box there were likewise 800 Sheets which were struck off the Plates upon extraordinary good Paper, but none sign'd, viz. 357 Sheets of Rhode-Island at 3*l.* is 1071*l.* old Tenor, and 449 Sheets of the Connecticut, is 1492*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* amounting in the whole to 2563*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* old Tenor.—This was a most seasonable Discovery; for the Engraving so near resembles the Original (except the Back-side of the Connecticut Plate) that if he could but have obtain'd an accurate Signer, they might have been soon spread all over the Country to the great Damage of the Publick, which is now prevented, not one of them being out.

*Joseph and William Robinson*

Two brothers of Killingly, Joseph and William Robinson, Jr., during the winter of 1742-1743 had obtained some paper money altered by one Potter and were active in putting it off: Joseph uttered a bad 40*s.* Rhode Island bill to Elizabeth Hosmer, wife of Urian Hosmer, left a counterfeit £5 bill in pawn with Lieutenant Henry Green for a loan of 20*s.*, tried to induce John Grover and Joseph Cutler to pass false £8 bills and Noah Leavens and Ezra Hutchins to put off a bad 12/6 bill, while he and William together got Urian Hosmer to change an £8 bill of Potter's counterfeit money.



William Robinson persuaded Stephen Covel to take a counterfeit £5 bill and three pounds in other money and redeem a bad £8 bill that William had uttered to Benjamin Belknap in Providence; William also tried to induce Joseph Simons to change a 50s. bill where he was not known; he told Samuel Winter that he had changed a false note in Scituate; he offered 10s. to Nathaniel Collier if he would pass a counterfeit 50s. bill.

Both brothers were quite brazen about their nefarious doings: Joseph boasted to John Grover that he did not mind losing his ears if he had money enough; Hannah Covel, who lived for about a month during the winter at Joseph Robinson's, testified that one night William Robinson came and the two brothers sat drinking before the fire, when Joseph pulled out a bunch of money. When William asked what made him pull out "that Divellish Counterfeit money," Joseph threw one bill into the fire and put the rest back in his pocket.

During their examinations before Joseph Leavens, J.P., they stoutly denied everything but the justice bound them over to appear at the next Superior Court and set bail at £250 for each. A bond in such an amount was furnished by Joseph and Captain John Dwight and another by William, Thomas Batman and Enoch Moffitt. David Shapley, a grand juror, complained of them to Joseph Cady, J.P., who had them arrested by Deputy Sheriff Isaac Dana. Joseph was indicted in September for altering a 5s. bill of Rhode Island of the emission of 1740 to 40s. (PLATES XXIII-XXIV) and passing it to Urian Hosmer; he was tried, acquitted and discharged on payment of costs of £12/4/6.

William was also indicted for having helped Joseph to alter a 1s. bill but Mr. J. Lee, who had been assigned to him by the court as his attorney, pointed out that the altered bill was a 5s., not a 1s. note, and that William could not be held to trial as an accessory, since Joseph had already been acquitted. The court agreed, and it was ordered that William be dismissed on payment of costs of £11/11/7.<sup>8</sup> The evidence which has survived indicates that both men were

<sup>8</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, Sept., 1743; S.C. Records 8, Sept. 20, 1743.

actively engaged in passing and Joseph must have escaped conviction because of some legal technicality.

*Elisha Parker and Robert Martyn*

On July 13, 1744, Elisha Parker and Robert Martyn, both of Wallingford, were in Killingworth, where they passed some counterfeit Massachusetts and Rhode Island bills to Elisha Willcocks and others. Willcocks detected the fraud the same day and complained against them to Samuel Hill, J.P., of New Haven County. A warrant was issued for their arrest, and they were apprehended on July 14 at the house of Captain John Scranton in Guilford by Constable Timothy Meigs of that town. The constable found in Parker's pack ten half crown Rhode Island bills, new tenor, four 7/6 Rhode Island bills, old tenor, and two 5s. Boston bills, old tenor; in Martyn's pack he found one 7/6 Rhode Island bill, old tenor. He took his prisoners before Justices Andrew Ward and Samuel Hill at Hill's home in Guilford.

Parker, when examined, said that he got £39/10 for a horse which he had sold to a stranger, who said he came from Rhode Island, in the woods between Wethersfield and Great Swamp, while Martyn said that the bill in his possession came from Parker. The justices committed both men and set bail for each at £300.

The prisoners had uttered the bad paper money in New London County. Elihu Hall, discovering that the two men therefore could not be arraigned in New Haven County for crimes committed elsewhere, sought for evidence of other offences and found that the men had passed forged bills to persons in Wallingford.<sup>9</sup>

Parker was indicted at the Superior Court in New Haven on October 9, 1744, for having about July 13 in Guilford uttered to Abraham Bradley of Guilford a counterfeit 2/6 Rhode Island bill bearing the date of February 2, 1741, and also for having, about the beginning of July, in Wallingford uttered to Enos Johnson of that town another bad 2/6 Rhode Island bill. Martyn was indicted at the

<sup>9</sup> C. & M. IV, 83, 85, 86.

same court for having about July 13 at Guilford uttered to Abraham Bradley a false Rhode Island 7/6 bill dated 1738 and also for having, about the end of May or beginning of June, in Wallingford passed to Asaph Cook of that town at the house of Gamaliel Parker a false Rhode Island 2/6 bill dated February 2, 1741. Both men pleaded not guilty, were tried, convicted, and sentenced in accordance with the law.<sup>10</sup> Both Willcocks and Elihu Hall claimed the reward. The General Assembly in October decided the matter by denying Hall's petition and granting the reward to Willcocks.<sup>11</sup>

Parker and Martyn petitioned the Assembly in October, 1744, for release from prison, to which they had been sentenced for life, and their requests were granted on the same terms in each case, so it will suffice to give the text of the resolution in respect to Martyn, namely

that if said Robert Martyn shall pay all charges of his prosecution, imprisonment, and premium, or procure good security, and find sufficient surety or sureties to become bound to the Treasurer of this Colony in the sum of two hundred pounds in bills of credit of the new tenour, that he will no more offend in like kind, and shall be bound out to service for ten years to such master as this Assembly, or a committee by them appointed for such purpose, shall approve of, then the said Martyn shall, on the second Monday of December next, be released from said imprisonment, under this restriction, that he then forthwith repair to the town of Wallingford to which he belongs, and there remain during life, and so often as he shall be found or known to have been without the bounds of said town, without special licence of his said master, under his hand, he shall be liable to be whipt not exceeding twenty stripes on his naked body, by order of the nearest authority; and Colonel Benjamin Hall, John Southmaid, Esq<sup>rs</sup>, and Capt. Elihu Hall, or any two of them, be a committee for the purposes aforementioned.<sup>12</sup>

Parker had property, which, of course, was forfeited to the colony, and the committee above mentioned, or any two of them, was to

<sup>10</sup> S.C. Records 8, Oct. 9, 1744.

<sup>11</sup> C. & M. IV, 82, 84, 86; *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, p. 79.

<sup>12</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX 79 and 78-79 (the action of the Assembly with respect to Parker); C. & M. IV, 87, 88.

execute proper instruments for the conveyance of Parker's estate.<sup>13</sup> On May 9, 1746, Benjamin Hall reported to the Assembly that the committee had sold Parker's lands and taken for them two bonds, one of £103 and another of £54/4/0.<sup>14</sup>

*The Oblong Gang and Associates*

In 1744 the attention of the authorities in Connecticut, as well as in other provinces, was directed to a band of counterfeiters residing in the Oblong or Equivalent Tract, which had been ceded by Connecticut to New York on May 14, 1731. In a letter dated August 18, 1744, Governor Morris wrote to Governor Clinton of New York about the matter and sent along several examinations and papers concerned with the business. Clinton communicated his information to Governor Jonathan Law of Connecticut, who sent instructions to several justices of the peace to inquire into the matter.<sup>15</sup>

Governor Law on January 2, 1745, wrote from Milford to Governor Clinton:

I have lately received an Acc<sup>t</sup> from one of our Justices near ye Western Borders of this Gov<sup>t</sup> that he has co<sup>m</sup>mitted one Andrew Nelson to Goal for putting off a Counterfeit 20s. Bill of Rhoad Island equal to 4" w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>m</sup> he found 72" of ye same sort. and the place where this Wickedness is supposed to be carryd on is the Oblong and it is probable that great Quantities of it are handed about by a confederated Gang of w<sup>ch</sup> I th<sup>ot</sup> fitt to advise you...<sup>16</sup>

Nelson, who was, as has been seen, in custody early in January, swore a number of false bills, which were either found on his person or had been traced to him, upon Israel Keith and Samuel Browne of Dover, New York, and Benjamin Stone of Litchfield. Nelson was released on bail provided by himself and his father, William Nelson,

<sup>13</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, p. 79.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* IX, pp. 223-224; C. & M. IV, 89.

<sup>15</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, p. 58.

<sup>16</sup> *The Law Papers* I, p. 248.

for his appearance at the Superior Court in New Haven in August. On August 19, 1745, Justice Samuel Hutchinson issued instructions to the constables to summon as witnesses against Nelson Captain John Sprague, John Gay, James Betts, John Neland and Daniel Parke, all of Sharon. In his indictment Nelson was charged with having on the evening of December 3, 1744, in Sharon, passed a false 20s. Rhode Island bill to James Betts. When the court convened and Nelson was called, he did not appear.

An explanation was forthcoming, for a letter, signed by Andrew Nelson and his father, had been sent to Samuel Darling of New Haven. It stated that Andrew had been pressed into the King's service, had got a substitute and that the substitute had fallen ill. The captain then insisted that Andrew serve. Accompanying documents showed that Captain Leonard Hoar, acting on orders from Colonel John Stoddard, had impressed Andrew to serve in guarding the western frontier and ordered him to impress his father's firelock gun for his use.<sup>17</sup> In this way Nelson escaped almost certain conviction.

Before long more of these 20s. Rhode Island bills were passed by men from the Oblong: Jeremiah Thornton on February 5, 1745, at Colchester passed to James Glass of that town such a forged bill of the emission of 1741. Glass detected the cheat and reported the matter to Nathaniel Foot, J.P., of Colchester, who had Thornton arrested. On the same day Thomas Cooper, also from the Oblong, uttered to Joseph Chamberlain in Colchester another counterfeit Rhode Island bill (PLATES XXV-XXVI). Both men were tried and convicted at the March session of the Superior Court in Hartford and were sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>18</sup> On May 9, 1745, these two criminals, encouraged, no doubt, by previous action of the Assembly in similar cases, petitioned for release from life imprisonment in case they could find someone to pay their expenses and charges. Their prayer was granted on condition that they pay all costs and

<sup>17</sup> S.C. Files, New Haven, 1745.

<sup>18</sup> S.C. Records 8, March 6 and 7, 1745; S.C. Files, Hartford, March, 1745; C. & M. IV, 95.

charges and £20 each (the rewards given to the informer or informers against them, one of whom was James Glass) and with the understanding that if they were ever found in the colony after the ten days following their release had elapsed they were to be returned to the workhouse for life.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to these two members of the Oblong gang still another two, Joseph Boyce, Sr., and John Scias (also spelled Scious and Syas) had been taken up, through the efforts of Robert Clark of Uxbridge, Massachusetts, and lodged in the jail in Hartford. In May Clark requested of and received from the Assembly aid in having the two offenders transported to Hampshire County in Massachusetts.<sup>20</sup>

Other members of the gang appear to have been Joseph Boyce, Jr., Samuel Thompson, Joseph Plummer, Henry Bosworth, Israel Keith of New Sherburn, Seth Sherwood and a certain Hurlburt. It also seems likely that Justice Daniel Hunt and Captain Augustine Hunt were somehow involved. Some of these persons were apprehended, as is shown by the following letter of June 19, 1745, sent by Governor Law to Governor Shirley. Law wrote:

Saturday night was Sennit a Justice of peace on our western Borders informed me of one who Contrived to Expose young Boyce and others to be taken in ye Very act of using ye Counterfeit plates in a Certain Swamp in ye Oblong on tuesday following but it being out of this Gover<sup>mt</sup> I sent ye Justice directly to Gov<sup>r</sup> Clinton to Inform of ye Stratagem thinking nothing was wanting but an authority & assistance Sufficient would readily be had of our people within ten miles of ye Spot, he Shewed me two rhoad island xx<sup>s</sup> bills one with Divers mistakes in it ye other with these errors rectified taken of ye day before, and ye Justice returned with a Letter ye Gov<sup>r</sup> Signifying y<sup>t</sup> ye Council were of opinion yt yr was no foundation for a warrant, ye Justice being able to Sware only to here Says but ye undertaker had found ye plates a 20 <sup>s</sup> Rh and a half a Crown Plate & a N.Y. plate of 20 <sup>s</sup> not perfectly Compleated, Press cloths and other implements &c: Sends them over ye line, Decoys Boyce & one Hurlburt a partner into

<sup>19</sup> C. & M. IV, 93-95.

<sup>20</sup> *The Law Papers* I, p. 312; C. & M. IV, 92; *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, p. 112.

ye Edge of this Gov<sup>mt</sup> Seizeth them & they are in N. Haven Goal Hurlburt Confesseth himself Guilty and accuseth 22 persons as Confederate with them Boyce<sup>s</sup> father and Scious were transported through this Gov<sup>mt</sup> to you some time Since.<sup>21</sup>

The persons concerned in giving information against or seizing these malefactors (Sherwood, Boyce, Nelson and Hurlburt) were William Drinkwater, who informed against Sherwood, James Betts, who informed against Andrew Nelson, and William Spencer and Ephraim Seeley. The Connecticut Assembly voted Drinkwater and Betts £20 each, while Seeley was given £50 for having helped to detect the criminals and because it was feared he might suffer from the vengeful practices of the delinquents and their associates. Spencer, aided by others, had probably taken an active part in the capture of some of the counterfeiters, all of whom escaped conviction, since some were released on bail, which they forfeited, and others escaped from jail.<sup>22</sup> The two who broke jail were Hurlburt and Joseph Boyce, who escaped from prison in New Haven between July 18 and August 21, leaving only their plates in the hands of the authorities.<sup>23</sup> Sherwood, like Nelson, must have been released on bail and forfeited his bond by failing to appear.

### The Gang in Derby

A gang of counterfeiters in Derby began operations in 1745 and, at least through Joseph Boyce, was connected with the Oblong gang. The downfall of the men in Derby was brought about by Daniel Grant of Newtown, who in October, 1746, received from Samuel Sherman of Newtown a 20s. Connecticut new tenor bill. It seemed suspicious, so Grant took it to New Haven to Secretary George Wyllys, who judged it to be counterfeit. Sherman was arrested and released on a bail bond

<sup>21</sup> *The Law Papers* I, p. 312; Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, pp. 60–66.

<sup>22</sup> C. & M. IV, 98–99; *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, p. 178.

<sup>23</sup> *The Law Papers* II, pp. 2 and 31.

of £300 furnished to Sheriff Thomas Hill by Samuel and his brother Benoni. Sherman's story was as follows: in April, 1746, in Newtown he and Dr. George Weed talked about money and on May 11 they went to Woodbury, where Sherman got three quarters of Connecticut money from him and passed them in Woodbury. Dr. Weed said that his brother, Samuel Weed in Derby, signed them and could counterfeit any man's handwriting. Later George Weed at Sherman's house showed him a Connecticut bill that was not printed on the back and subsequently passed it in Norwalk. George told Sherman that the gang had a Rhode Island 40s. old tenor plate. Again, on the night of October 13, George Weed came to Sherman's home and gave him three 20s. Connecticut bills—which he said were good—and Sherman gave him credit for them. It was one of these that he passed to Grant and which caused him to be imprisoned in the Fairfield County jail. On the night of October 26, while Sherman was in jail, Dr. Weed, who was let in by John Whitear, visited the prisoner and got a mug of flip, which he, Sherman and a negro prisoner drank. George Weed said that he had that same night passed to a tavernkeeper in Stratford a 20s. counterfeit that came from the house in Derby and he urged Sherman to break jail. Sherman said he could easily do so in a quarter of an hour but decided against it, since he expected to get bail the next day. In this he was not disappointed, for he was released on bail on October 27.

Immediately after his release Sherman set out to prosecute George Weed, whom he at once had arrested, The doctor, however, promptly broke away from the constable and made good his escape. Sherman then sent to Derby to have Samuel Weed and the rest of the gang apprehended. He himself failed to appear in court and his bond was forfeited, so that on May 20, 1749, he asked the Assembly to cancel his bond if he would pay all costs and charges, a request which that body rejected. Later, in large part no doubt because of the recommendation of Justices Thomas Tousey and Job Sherman, given because of his full confession and instrumentality in bringing the Derby gang to justice, the Assembly ordered the court to chancer the bond

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down to such an amount as would cover the charges and the premium allowed to Grant as informer.<sup>24</sup>

On November 16, 1746, Samuel Riggs, J.P., issued a warrant for the arrest of Samuel Weed, who was apprehended the next day by Samuel Tomlinson, Constable of Derby. In Weed's house the constable found a press, two bottles of red ink and a sheet of paper judged to have a bill cut out of it. It seems probable that Weed was released on bail, for about the end of February, 1747, on an information lodged by Elihu Hall, he was arrested and jailed in New Haven. His wife soon set about planning his escape and enlisted the aid of his son, David, Joseph Weed of Waterbury (Samuel's brother), Joseph Trowbridge of Waterbury, and Samuel's negro slave Zadock. Zadock was promised his freedom for his part in the undertaking, while Trowbridge, who felt that Samuel was wrongfully imprisoned, was promised a reward and was encouraged by Ephraim Washborn. Sarah Weed, Samuel's wife set about to procure suitable tools for the attempt on the jail; to Trowbridge she gave money with which he purchased in Milford a file and a gimlet; she also had Daniel Tucker, a blacksmith of Derby, make her a burning iron three inches wide with a cutting edge, and this she took, together with a cold chisel and a file, to be used in the projected jail break.

On Saturday evening, March 30, Trowbridge, Zadock, David and Joseph Weed all set out for New Haven, separating in order to avoid attracting attention, and then meeting again near the jail. Joseph went first to the prison and when he came back he reported that Samuel already had his irons off. Zadock had brought along a shoe knife and a tap augur, while Joseph had brought one iron and David another. While Trowbridge kept watch, the others bored a hole in the stud, then inserted a spike and got the stud out. At this a cry was raised and they fled and did not see Samuel when he escaped. All this took place between midnight and four o'clock in the morning. On his way back from New Haven Trowbridge took from Derby two cows

<sup>24</sup> S.C. Files, New Haven, 1747; C. & M. Counterfeiting (unbound) III, 95-101; *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, p. 335.

for a debt owed him by Samuel Weed, while Samuel Weed, Jr., drove some cattle to the house of Trowbridge's father to be cared for by John Weed.

Samuel Weed apparently made off for Waterbury, where he was presently seized by Constable Jacob Blakeslee and conveyed to the jail in New Haven. At the Superior Court held in that town he was indicted on April 29, 1747, pleaded guilty to a charge of counterfeiting 20s. bills of Connecticut and 40s. bills of Massachusetts and was sentenced in accordance with law.

Before long action was taken to investigate the jail break and to take up the persons responsible for it. David Weed, probably because of his youth, was not apprehended but Trowbridge, Joseph Weed and Zadock were arrested on April 4 and examined by Justice John Hubbard. Zadock and Trowbridge confessed their guilt but Joseph pleaded not guilty until, on April 10, he also confessed that he was guilty. Each of the three was bound over in bail of £5,000 and committed to jail. At the April session of the Superior Court in New Haven Joseph Weed was fined £100 and sentenced to find surety for his good behavior in the amount of £200 and to pay costs of £37/9/11; Zadock was sentenced to receive twenty stripes on his naked body; Trowbridge apparently was not punished and presumably was accepted as King's Evidence.

The authorities, of course, were also interested in determining who the confederates of Samuel Weed were and in bringing them to justice. On December 23, 1746, Samuel Bassett, J.P., issued a warrant for the arrest of Edward Washborn of Derby and examined him. On the twenty-sixth Washborn was further questioned at the home of Captain John Riggs and then committed to the New Haven jail, from which he was released on bail of £500 provided by himself and his brother Ephraim. He was under suspicion of issuing six counterfeit 20s. bills, and Constable Samuel Tomlinson had informed the justice that Silvester Wooster of Derby had made a press for Edward Washborn for counterfeiting bills. Apparently, from the silence of the records, Edward escaped prosecution. Another suspected member

of the gang was Jonas Tomlinson, also of Derby, who was charged with counterfeiting bills. On a warrant issued on April 29, 1747, he was arrested by Ebenezer Lines, a sheriff's deputy, and was examined by John Hubbard who bound him over to the Superior Court to be held in New Haven in August. He was then released on bail of £500. He, too, appears to have escaped prosecution.

Other associates of Samuel Weed were less fortunate. On April 15 Nathaniel Wooster of Derby was examined at an inferior court in Derby, at which he pleaded not guilty to a charge of passing. He admitted, however, that he knew about the counterfeiting, that he had two false 20s. Connecticut bills, that he had seen one Robert Lennox making plates and that he had seen Sam Weed and Edward Washborn strike six or seven twenty shilling bills new tenor. Finally he confessed that he had pressed one bill himself at the desire of Lennox. He was committed to the New Haven jail, was indicted in April, 1747, was tried and convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.

Daniel Tucker, blacksmith of Derby, was apprehended on a writ signed April 8, 1747, by Captain Samuel Riggs, J.P., and was examined on the next day by Justice Hubbard. He at once made a full confession, which gives the clearest picture of the whole affair: in August, 1745, on the Town Street of Derby he met Gideon Washborn, who asked if he, Tucker, could shoe his horse for him. In the course of their conversation Gideon took out his pocketbook and showed the blacksmith a 40s. new tenor Massachusetts bill, saying that they could have as many of these as they wanted.

Later on Gideon had Tucker make him steel pens and told him that they had gotten Boyce out of jail, that Boyce was in Derby and that he was going to make some plates for himself, Gideon, for Edward Washborn and for Samuel Weed. The confederates needed copper for their plates, so they sent Jeremiah Ocain towards New York to buy some metal for their purpose, and he returned with a copper tea kettle, which they brought to Tucker and had him cut it into the form of a plate. With money supplied by Sarah Weed, Tucker bought

a copper pot at Mr. French's and also fashioned it into a plate. The gang needed ink and first tried lampblack and oil, which did not do at all. Therefore Weed sent to Boston by William Clark, who brought back for them nut galls and Ivory Black but reported that he could get no Frankfort. They set up their press in Edward Washborn's house, and there Edward and Gideon Washborn, Samuel Weed and Tucker struck off a number of bills. Tucker received two 20s. Connecticut bills from Edward Washborn but returned one to him and burned the other. Edward also gave him a 2s. bill and some quarters of 2s. bills, and Tucker passed two quarters to Mrs. Clark.

The other associates set about passing their bills. Weed and Gideon Washborn told Tucker that they had uttered nearly £20 in Stratford, and Wooster claimed he had passed off some quarters of 2s. bills to Mrs. Clark, also explaining to the blacksmith how he pressed one 20s. Connecticut bill new tenor and one 12s. bill "with his Tailors Goose on the Backside to press down the Letters that are stamped on the Same with a Card in Order to prepare the Same for a Plaister of Wax on ye Plate to take Letters out of the Backside of the Bill in Order to cut the Plate by..." At Mr. Clark's in 1745 Jonah Tomlinson had told Tucker about the making of money at the Oblong and later had showed him a 20s. Connecticut new tenor bill which had been finished off by Boyce himself. Tucker was indicted at the Superior Court in New Haven in April, 1747, for having made instruments for engraving plates to counterfeit the 20s. Connecticut new tenor bill and the 40s. Massachusetts new tenor bill, and also for having passed two six pence quarters to Mrs. Clark of Derby. Tucker pleaded guilty and was sentenced in accordance with law.

Sarah Weed, Samuel's wife, was arrested on April 29, 1747, and taken before Justices John Hubbard and Samuel Bassett, who proceeded to examine her. She confessed that she knew of Sam's making money after the bills were struck. She had, she said, suspected that her husband was having an affair with Widow Washborn, and, when she accused him of this, Sam took from his pocketbook about ten 20s. Connecticut bills, newly printed and not signed, and explained

what was going on. She learned that Boyce was at their old place for three days, and, when she insisted that Boyce must go or she would complain, Boyce went to Edward Washborn's where her husband took him meat and cheese. She confessed that she had not done all that was proper, and the court dismissed her.<sup>25</sup>

The Assembly in May, 1747, appointed Captain John Fowler and Captain Samuel Bassett as a committee to receive from Sheriff Samuel Mansfield of New Haven County the confiscated estates of Weed, Tucker and Wooster and to sell the same. At this time Captain Elisha Hall was appointed to start suits to recover property of Samuel Weed, who had apparently given title to it to other persons in order to protect it from seizure.<sup>26</sup>

On May 12, 1747, Tucker and Wooster petitioned the Assembly for release from imprisonment. Wooster set forth that he had never enriched himself by a penny through counterfeiting, that his property had been purchased with his wife's money, that she was very infirm, that they had several children of whom the youngest was four months old, that his own health was impaired in jail and that his family must become town charges unless he be released to support them. Tucker pleaded that his estate, which in large part consisted of his blacksmith's tools, would no more than pay his just debts, that he had a wife and three small children who must, save for an aged father-in-law, who had an elderly and infirm wife, become town charges. Both memorialists were released on condition that each provide a bond of £500 for his good behavior and that each abide within the limits of Derby.<sup>27</sup>

Tucker, after his return to Derby, was, as he put it, of "a humble

<sup>25</sup> For material concerning the Derby Gang see S.C. Files, New Haven, 1747 and 1748; C. & M. IV, 105, 384-388; *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, pp. 377, 497; S.C. Records 9, April 29, 1747. Weed was also indicted for having forged orders on the treasurer of the colony and pleaded guilty. For this he was sentenced to stand one hour in the pillory on three successive lecture days or days of public meeting, to pay the treasurer £178/11/-, and to be disenabled to give any evidence or verdict.

<sup>26</sup> C. & M. IV, 384, 386; *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, pp. 302-303.

<sup>27</sup> C. & M. IV, 103-104, 106-107; *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, p. 306.

and upright behavior" and in October, 1759, asked that he might have restored to him the liberties and privileges which had been lost through his conviction. The Assembly approved his petition and gave him back the right to contract, trade and deal as other inhabitants might do.<sup>28</sup>

Samuel Weed, like Wooster and Tucker, besought the Assembly in May, 1747, to release him from confinement and to permit him to go to Waterbury and there reside permanently, but both houses turned down his request.<sup>29</sup> His wife at the same time asked that her son, Samuel, Jr., a boy of 17, might be permitted to keep the sheep and cattle which belonged to him and bore his mark,<sup>30</sup> all of which was probably a subterfuge to keep some of the father's property from being confiscated.

Weed made further breaks from jail, once from the New Haven jail, together with Joseph Bill, probably early in October, for on November 6, 1747, he was seized by Nathaniel Gunn and returned to prison,<sup>31</sup> while on December 26, 1748, Justice John Humphrey had him seized in Simsbury and then confined in the jail in Hartford. When Weed was taken this last time, he was armed with a pistol and had in his possession a milled dollar and forty-two copper pennies. He was evidently living in Simsbury, for he also had a bed, two goats, a deerskin, a brass skillet, a pair of brass shoe buckles, two chains of silver buttons, a pair of skis, a mare, a saddle and a bridle.<sup>32</sup> On December 27, the day after his arrest, the Superior Court in Hartford ordered that he be given twenty-five lashes on the naked body.<sup>33</sup>

In May, 1749, Weed petitioned the Assembly for release from jail, and it appears that it was voted that he be put to work under a master in Hartford. Further, if he should be caught wandering outside of that town, the person who seized him was to be given a reward of £10, while Weed was to be given ten stripes on his naked body for so offending. He was, moreover, to secure a bond of £50 for his good

<sup>28</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* XI, p. 328.

<sup>29</sup> *C. & M.* IV, 383.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* IV, 385.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* IV, 308-311, *C. & M.*, Counterfeiting (unbound) III, 140.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* IV, 293-295.

<sup>33</sup> *S.C. Records* 9, Dec. 27, 1748.

behavior.<sup>34</sup> For some reason he does not seem to have been released until at least October, 1749. He then petitioned again, stating that he was reduced almost to a skeleton and had but few rags to cover him; the same measures were taken, seemingly for a second time, and a bond of £50 for his good behavior was furnished by Joseph Weed of Simsbury and Jonas Weed of Waterbury.<sup>35</sup>

Weed sent another memorial to the Assembly on April 30, 1752, requesting permission to go from Hartford to Waterbury to see his children and take care of the estate left them by their mother, but his prayer was denied.<sup>36</sup> In February, 1756, it came to the attention of the Assembly "that the said Samuel Weed hath in divers instances behaved himself contrary to the tenor of the conditions of such bond, and is justly suspected to be confederate with those who counterfeit bills of public credit or put them off knowing them to be such, to the great disquiet of his Majesty's subjects." Jabez Hamlin, John Hubbard and Elisha Sheldon were therefore appointed a committee to examine Weed and inquire into his doings and then report back. These gentlemen questioned Weed and investigated the matter. They found that he had been to Dover, New York, on what business they could not discover, but they could obtain no proof against him. They reported, however, that common fame represented him as a very bad and dangerous man and that he corresponded with the counterfeiters of bills.<sup>37</sup> As Dover was the headquarters of Owen Sullivan and his associates, it seems likely that "common Fame" was correct with regard to Weed.

Weed made one more attempt to escape from being restricted to the limits of Hartford. On October 4, 1758, he memorialized the Assembly, setting forth that he wished to become a dresser of deer's leather and in that business travel from town to town, a prayer which the legislators wisely denied.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> C. & M. IV, 296-298.

<sup>35</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, p. 489; C. & M. IV, 305, 306, 326.

<sup>36</sup> C. & M. IV, 317-318.

<sup>37</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, pp. 463, 464; C. & M. IV, 324-325.

<sup>38</sup> C. & M. IV, 330-331.

There were other persons who at this time were certainly or probably connected with Weed or the money makers in the Oblong. One Benjamin Barns of Waterbury was arrested in that town by Constable Samuel Scott, Jr., on a charge of passing false bills, perhaps obtained from Weed or from Dover, New York. He was taken to the jail in New Haven,<sup>39</sup> but nothing further is known of him. John Dexter was followed by officers from Dutchess County, New York, to New Haven, where he was arrested and jailed on suspicion of having counterfeited pieces of eight and pistoles, several of which were found on his person. As his crime had been committed in New York, he was sent there and imprisoned. The minutes of the Supreme Court for this year are lost, so it is not recorded what became of him.<sup>40</sup> This lack of New York Supreme Court records for this year also leaves uncertain the fate of Jeremiah Weyman, who, according to a report made to the Connecticut Assembly by Captain John Riggs, was taken up in Waterbury on suspicion of counterfeiting bills and committed to the jail in New Haven. He was afterwards delivered to an officer to be transported to New York for trial,<sup>41</sup> all of which indicates that his crime was committed in New York.

Abel Clark of Waterbury was informed against on September 3, 1748, by Hezekiah Kilborn for having on that day passed to Nicholas Ayrault of Wethersfield a false 12s. Connecticut bill of the emission of October 11, 1744. John Chester, assistant, at once issued a warrant for the arrest of Clark, who was speedily apprehended by Constable Oliver Denning of Wethersfield. At his examination before Chester the prisoner pleaded not guilty but refused to say where he got the false bill. There were found on his person a number of other counterfeit notes, two £2 bills of Rhode Island, two 12s. bills of Connecticut and one 20s. bill of Connecticut (PLATES XXVII-XXVIII). Bail for Clark was set at £2,000 and he was committed to the jail in Hartford. A month or so in prison induced him to send a memorial to the

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* IV, 299, 302; *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, p. 497.

<sup>40</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>41</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, pp. 330-331; C. & M., *Counterfeiting* (unbound) III, 141.



Assembly on September 17, 1748, in which he stated that he, a youth, had been about the beginning of August "bewitched" and "seduced" by Samuel Weed to take some £42 in counterfeit bills to pass, with the understanding that he was to keep half the profit. He had put off about half of them when he was arrested. He requested that he be admitted as a King's witness against Weed, a prayer which the Assembly voted to consider in May.

Now it happened that a fellow prisoner in the Hartford jail with Clark was Joseph Bill. A warrant for Bill's arrest had been issued in New Haven by Justice John Hubbard on May 19, 1747, on a complaint to the effect that Bill had lately engraved a plate of the lower left hand quarter of a Connecticut 2s. old tenor bill and also a plate of a 4s. Connecticut new tenor bill and had aided in striking and passing counterfeits. Bill was apprehended at once by Stephen Hotchkiss and pleaded not guilty. A 4s. Connecticut new tenor counterfeit bill was, however, found on him and he confessed that he had made it; two pieces of bills were likewise discovered in his possession, as well as an engraving tool. He then admitted that he got the tool and some small pieces of copper and a crucible from Isaac Doolittle in New Haven. He melted the small pieces and formed a plate, which he next engraved. While all alone in the woods in Cheshire, he struck the bill from the plate. He said that he did this because he had nothing else to do and he affirmed that he had never signed or passed any bills. He broke jail, probably early in October, together with Samuel Weed, but was later taken and jailed in Hartford. He now escaped from the Hartford jail and took young Clark along with him. Together they went to Boston and vicinity, where Clark seems to have occupied himself with a gang of money makers. By April, 1750, he was desirous of returning to Connecticut and therefore wrote to the Connecticut Assembly, stating that he wished to confess all and asking liberty to return home to his good parents, whose only son he was. His petition met with the negative vote which it deserved.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> S.C. Files, New Haven, 1747; S.C. Files, Hartford, Dept., 1748; C. & M. V., 335-336.

## VII

### ISAAC JONES AND HIS GANG

On Tuesday, September 27, 1748, an exciting scene was enacted at the bottom of the Boston Common. The best account of the affair is found in the *Boston Evening-Post* of October 3, 1748, and runs as follows:

...one *Isaac Jones* having put off some counterfeit Bills, in Imitation of the *Connecticut* 7s. Bills, last Emission, and being observ'd to have a large Quantity of 'em about him, was followed to his House at the Bottom of the Common, where he stood upon his Defence (being armed with Pistols, &c.) and kept the Officers and their Assistants at a Distance for some Hours, but was at last taken and committed to Goal. He made a Stand at the Head of the Stairs, and while he defended his Post, some Persons in the Chamber were engaged in burning the Press and Bills: Several Pieces of the latter, and one almost entire, flew out of the Chimney, and were taken up by the People, and as *Jones* was taken by Force sooner than he expected, there were found in the Chamber some Parts of the Press, several Quires of Paper fit for striking of Bills, and a Quantity of Lamp-black, Oil &c. for carrying on their Business...

One of his accomplices was taken up and jailed. His bills were described as a cheat which plainly might be discovered at first sight, for they were very pale, and the letters and lines were very uneven and miserably engraved both on the front and back.<sup>1</sup>

It happened that Jonathan Trumble of Connecticut was present in Boston at the time and finding that the counterfeiter "was seized by a person who was exposed to great danger in doing the same, did as a gratuity bestow on him the sum of eight pounds old tenour, supposing it proper to be done for the honour of this [the Connecticut] government." This reward met with the approval of the Connecticut

<sup>1</sup> *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Sept. 29, 1748, p. 2.

Assembly, which reimbursed Trumble for the reward to the person who apprehended the counterfeiter of their 7s. bills.<sup>2</sup>

Jones was not an easy man to hold, and before long he broke jail and escaped.<sup>3</sup> Together with others he at once began his counterfeiting again and was detected through the arrest of some passers of his products in Hebron, Connecticut. In February, 1749, Justice John Bulkley of that town discovered that some persons in Hebron had been connected with Joseph Bill in counterfeiting paper money. As a result David Wilcox, Jr., and Elias Wilcox were taken into custody and examined by Bulkley and Joseph Phelps, another justice of the peace. The prisoners, who were charged with passing false bills of Connecticut, confessed, involved others, and said that one Bryant of Boston was the one who had undertaken to put off the paper money manufactured by Joseph Bill. They further explained that the money was to be passed "on shares."

It was thought advisable that someone should go to Boston to alert the authorities there, so Justice Bulkley asked one John Thompson of Hebron to undertake the business. After consulting with Jonathan Trumble and Joseph Fowler, who were of the opinion that the Assembly would reward him, Thompson, accompanied by David Wilcox, who was to serve as King's Witness, set out for Boston toward the end of February in extremely inclement and rainy weather. In Boston Thompson delivered to the authorities letters from Trumble and Bulkley.<sup>4</sup>

Jonathan Bryant, a shingle maker of Boston, was arrested about March 8 or 9, and in his house were found the following counterfeit bills, ninety-five £3 and nine 7s. of Connecticut and thirty-two 10s. of Massachusetts. He admitted that Joseph Bill and Isaac Jones were counterfeiting money in a rented room in a house on Long Island, about two miles below the Castle. Bryant said that he thought he could find them, so he was allowed to go there alone. On his return

<sup>2</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, March 16, 1749, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *C. & M.* IV, 122, 125-126.

he said he had conversed with the men and then he led the officers there. It seems, however, that Bryant had merely warned his confederates, so that when the officers arrived they found that Jones, Bill and their associates had fled.<sup>5</sup>

A reward of £50 for the capture of any of the band brought results, for on Saturday morning, March 18, Bill and Jones were captured in Newton Woods, where they had set up their counterfeiting business. With them were found their plates, other utensils and some unsigned bills. They were committed to Cambridge jail, but it was decided to remove them to Boston.<sup>6</sup> While they were being transferred there, they escaped at Watertown, so that the officers arrived in Boston with the plates but no counterfeiters.<sup>7</sup>

The extremely insecure jails of the day were no match for Bill and Jones. Bill had been arrested in New Jersey in December, 1747, for counterfeiting but had escaped from the jail in Hackensack.<sup>8</sup> He also broke out of the jails in New Haven and Hartford and Jones from prison in Boston.<sup>9</sup> Seemingly they were soon taken up in Connecticut and imprisoned but speedily escaped. The person who apprehended Bill on one occasion in Connecticut was Paul Welch of New Milford, who in October, 1749, informed the Assembly that he had "at great hazard and expence" taken up Joseph Bill, whereupon he was voted a reward of £20.<sup>10</sup>

On the last day of March, 1749, Bill and Jones were in flight from the forces of justice. Led by an Indian squaw, they arrived at an early hour in the morning at the home of Jedediah Ashcraft in Groton. According to Ashcraft's evidence when he was examined—and he was probably far from telling the truth—they pretended that they had come from Rhode Island and had sent their horses back by

<sup>5</sup> *Boston Evening-Post*, March 13, 1749, p. 1; *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, March 16, 1749, p. 1; C. & M. IV, 123.

<sup>6</sup> *Boston Evening-Post*, March 20, 1749, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, March 24, 1749, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, p. 76.

<sup>9</sup> C. & M. IV, 124.

<sup>10</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, p. 465.

someone. Bill apparently was going by the name of Doctor Wilson and pretending to be a famous physician. Ashcraft described him as a tall man, not thick of body and well dressed. Jones went by the name of Captain Wright and claimed that he had lost a vessel in the war. They wanted immediate transportation to Sag Harbor, where Ashcraft landed them and received, as he said at first, an £8 Rhode Island bill from Wilson. Later, however, he broke down and wept, admitting that he had lied and confessing that he had been given a £10/10 bill, apparently a counterfeit. He added the information that his passengers went to South Hampton, where they attended meeting and were on the Sabbath at the tavern at Zeb Howel's.

A warrant for Ashcraft's arrest had been issued at New London on May 5, 1749, and Daniel Collins, Deputy Sheriff of New London County, apprehended him at Groton on May 8. The same day he was examined by Daniel Coit, J.P, who questioned him sharply about a letter, addressed to Mr. Willet Larabe living in Norwich Long Society, which was found by Collins in Ashcraft's possession. Ashcraft explained that it was given him by "Wilson." It appeared to Justice Coit that Ashcraft had concealed, nourished and conveyed away counterfeiters and on Long Island had passed a false £10/10 bill to Nathan Fordham. The magistrate therefore bound Ashcraft over to the next Superior Court to be held in September, 1750, but finally he was released on bail of £1,000 furnished by Ashcraft, Parke Avery of Groton and James Tulley of New London.<sup>11</sup>

The court records do not explain the content of the letter addressed to Willet Larabe and delivered to Ashcraft by Joseph Bill nor do they indicate why Justice Coit questioned his prisoner about the document. It seems, however, safe to assume that there was some message about counterfeiting and that Larabe was one of Bill's gang or at least in the same business, for early in November 1751, Willet Larabe was convicted at the superior court of King's County, Rhode

<sup>11</sup> The material concerning Ashcraft is to be found in S.C. Files, New London, March, 1750; see also *The Superior Court Diary of William Samuel Johnson 1772-1773* (Washington: The American Historical Association, 1942), p. xliii.

Island, for passing several counterfeit twenty shilling new tenor bills of New Hampshire. He was sentenced to stand in the pillory for half an hour, to have both ears cropped, to be branded with R on each cheek with a hot iron, to be imprisoned for one month, to pay double damages to the persons injured by his counterfeit bills and the costs of prosecution, and to forfeit the remainder of his estate, both real and personal, for the use of the colony. The corporal punishment was executed at South Kingston on 7 November.<sup>12</sup>

Ashcraft was before the Superior Court at Norwich on March 27, 1751, charged with aiding in counterfeiting bills. Fortunately for him, the one thing which could be proved against him and to which he had confessed was the passing of a counterfeit bill. This, however, had been done on Long Island and was not actionable in Connecticut, so no one appeared to prosecute him and he was freed by proclamation on payment of costs.<sup>13</sup>

Jones' future activities may be revealed by a study of the court records of Massachusetts or Rhode Island but Bill's fate is known. He was associated in counterfeiting in 1751 with Jonathan Woodman and Dr. Samuel Dusten, and he and Woodman were jailed in New York City. When Woodman hanged himself in prison and thereby removed the only sure evidence against Bill, Bill was released and continued to ply his nefarious trade until late in 1772, when he was arrested in the Province of New York, tried, convicted and sentenced to death at Albany and executed there on April 2, 1773.<sup>14</sup>

Bryant had incensed the Massachusetts authorities by his failure to cooperate with them and they desired that Connecticut send to Boston two of the signers of their bills and a certified copy of the act for emitting the money that had been counterfeited. The Connecticut signers, however, refused to go to Boston and expressed the belief that their presence was not at all necessary to obtain a conviction.<sup>15</sup> In this they were correct, for when Bryant was arraigned

<sup>12</sup> *Boston Evening-Post*, Nov. 11, 1751.

<sup>13</sup> S.C. Records 10, March 27, 1750.

<sup>14</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, pp. 75-77; 154-170.

<sup>15</sup> *The Law Papers* III, pp. 381, 384, 385.

on April 11, 1750, at the Court of Assize in Boston on an indictment for passing a counterfeit £3 bill, he pleaded guilty, prayed the benefit of his clergy, which was granted him, and was burnt in the hand in open court.<sup>16</sup>

The passers of Joseph Bill's paper money were numerous in Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York, and, as has been stated above, the whole affair came to light through the detection of a number of the rascals by John Bulkley in February, 1749. Of the gang were Amos and Timothy Fuller of Lebanon, Samuel Ingham, Aaron Wilcox and David Wilcox, all of Hebron, and probably Alpheus Wickwire of Norwich. David Wilcox, as has been seen, had at his examination made a clean breast of the matter and fully cooperated with the authorities by turning King's evidence and thus escaping prosecution. One of his friends, Samuel Ingham, had shared a room with David at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Gale. In a chest in the room of her lodgers Mrs. Gale discovered a letter which indicated that Ingham was passing counterfeits. He was arrested and was examined by Bulkley, an assistant, at Colchester on March 7, 1749. It appeared that Ingham received from David Wilcox a £3 Connecticut counterfeit bill (PLATES XXXI-XXXII) and passed it off to a Mr. White at Killingworth and a similar note to one Rossiter of the same town, while Mr. Gale had also received similar false bills from him. Jonathan Factor in Branford secured one of these bills from Gale and sent it to Captain Edmund Ward in Guilford, who turned it over to Samuel Lynde, assistant. If Gale would swear the bill on Ingham, it seemed that Ingham could be convicted but Gale was unwilling to do this. Ingham was indicted at the Superior Court at Norwich on March 28, 1749, for having, on January 30, passed a false £3 Connecticut bill at Killingworth. He pleaded not guilty, was tried, acquitted and released on payment of fees of £43/2/1.<sup>17</sup>

Aaron Wilcox was less fortunate. On March 2, 1749, Asael Phelps

<sup>16</sup> *Boston Evening-Post*, April 16, 1750, p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Records, Court of Assistants and Superior Court 1710-1749, 337-338; S.C. Files New London, March, 1749.

and William Sumner complained to Justice Joseph Phelps of Hebron that Aaron Wilcox had uttered counterfeit bills, and the justice of the peace issued a warrant for Aaron's arrest. He was apprehended on March 30 and examined the next day and also on April 3. At first he maintained that he did not know where he got the false £3 bill (PLATES XXIX-XXX) but later admitted he had obtained it from Elias Wilcox in exchange for a deerskin. He confessed that he had passed another of the £3 bills to John Alden in Lebanon. He denied that he had seen Joseph Collins (evidently known to be a counterfeiter) at his father's house but said he had once seen Joseph Bill there and also in the woods. He was bound over to the Superior Court to be held in September and was released on bail of £500 furnished by himself and David Wilcox. At the Superior Court he was indicted for having at Hebron in January, 1749, passed to Thomas Fuller of Coventry a counterfeit Connecticut £3 new tenor bill of the emission of May 8, 1746. He pleaded not guilty, was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>18</sup>

From the Hartford jail in October, 1749, he sent to the Assembly a petition in which he lamented his idleness in prison and his subjection to "pinching hunger" and "chilling cold" and requested release. His prayer was granted on condition that he pay all costs of prosecution and jail charges, secure a bond of £500 for his good behavior for life, and live within the town limits of Hebron and there conduct all lawful business.<sup>19</sup> On May 10 of the next year he again sent a memorial to the legislators, whom he informed that his father had sold his land in Hebron and purchased an estate in Harwinton. He requested permission to move there, and this was granted on condition that he remain within the limits of that town.<sup>20</sup> Four years later, however, when he besought the Assembly to remove all restrictions laid upon him, his plea was denied.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1749; S.C. Records 10, Sept. 5, 1749. The bill which he passed to Fuller has been preserved in the Connecticut State Library.

<sup>19</sup> C. & M. IV, 129-130; *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, p. 490.

<sup>20</sup> C. & M. IV, 131; *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, p. 528.

<sup>21</sup> C. & M. IV, 202.



The two Fullers were indicted by the grand jury at the Superior Court held at Windham in March, 1749, Timothy for having on December 23, 1748, passed a counterfeit 10s. Massachusetts bill, new tenor, to Samuel Dewey of Lebanon, and Amos for having on December 15, 1748, helped to make three £3 new tenor bills of Connecticut of the emission of May 6, 1746. Both pleaded not guilty. Timothy was acquitted and released on payment of costs of £34/19/10 but Amos was convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>22</sup> There had been no doubt of Amos Fuller's guilt, for Thomas Hubbard, who in Boston was active in having Bryant arrested and search made for Bill and Jones, wrote to Colonel Trumble that Amos had been "sadly guilty" and that Bryant stated he received the false paper money found in his possession from Fuller and one Clarke (doubtless Abel Clark of Waterbury).<sup>23</sup>

Amos Fuller from the jail of Windham County in October, 1749, petitioned the Assembly for his release, stating that his health was endangered in jail and that he was willing to give evidence against the money makers if he were set free. The legislators granted his request on condition that he pay all costs and charges, find sureties in the amount of £500 for his good behavior and remain within the limits of the town of Lebanon.<sup>24</sup> Eight years later he again memorialized the Assembly desiring that his full rights of a freeman be restored to him in order that he might recover some debts owed him before his conviction, but his prayer was denied.<sup>25</sup>

John Smith, J.P., of Voluntown on April 4, 1749, issued a warrant for the arrest of Alpheus Wickwire, who the next day was taken up by Constable Joseph Tracy, Jr. Wickwire was at once examined at Norwich by Hezekiah Huntington, assistant, on suspicion of being a counterfeiter and utterer of the bills of Connecticut and of other colonies. Wickwire was evasive in his answers and claimed he had

<sup>22</sup> Records, Court of Assistants and Superior Courts 1710-1749, 327-329.

<sup>23</sup> C. & M. IV, 123-124.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* IV, 120, 128; *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, pp. 489-490.

<sup>25</sup> C. & M. V, 73.

forgotten when asked about point after point. It seems that he had ridden from Providence to Voluntown in company with some woman to whom he had, it was believed, spoken freely about counterfeiting and his own part in such criminal activities. At the end of December, 1748, one "Carpendor," doubtless Carpenter, had been at his home and he, Wickwire, admitted having had a £10/10 bill. He seemed on this and subsequent examinations to be guilty, so that on April 8 he was bound over to appear at the Superior Court to be held at New London in September and was released on a bail bond of £1,000 furnished by himself, Urian Hosmond (Urian Hosmer?) and Ebenezer Barstow.<sup>26</sup>

The "Carpenter" who visited Wickwire was surely none other than Amos Fuller, who in 1747 was using the alias of "Jeremiah Carpenter" in New Jersey, where he was committed to the Burlington jail for passing false Jersey money. On September 19 he broke out of prison, and Sheriff Joseph Hollingshead, who had learned that the fugitive's real name was probably Amos Fuller, offered a reward of ten pounds for his capture. Fuller was described as of about six feet in height and of a pale complexion. When last seen, he was wearing a gray homespun jockey coat with brass buttons, old leather breeches, yarn stockings, a linen cap and an old hat.<sup>27</sup>

It may be noted that John Thompson of Hebron, who had gone to Boston in the interests of Connecticut, was somewhat grudgingly compensated for his expense and trouble. The first sum given him did not satisfy him, so he petitioned for a further amount and in October, 1750, was voted £20 and again, in May, 1751, another £20.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> S.C. Files, New London, Sept., 1749.

<sup>27</sup> *The New-York Gazette, Revived in the Weekly Post Boy*, Oct. 12, 1747.

<sup>28</sup> C. & M. IV, 122-127; *Col. Rec. Conn.* IX, pp. 330-331.

## VIII

### THE YEARS 1750-1755

**T***he Acts and Laws of His Majesty's English Colony of Connecticut*, published in New London in 1750, contains an "Act against Counterfeiting Bills of public Credit, Coins, or Currencies; and emitting, and passing Bills, or Notes on private Credit: and to prevent Injustice in passing Counterfeit Bills."<sup>1</sup> The act reduced the reward to an informer from £20 to £10 but otherwise did not change the earlier laws on counterfeiting. Toward the close of the act, however, issuing of bills to take the place of money was forbidden in these terms:

Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Person, Society, Number of Persons, or Company within this Colony, shall presume to Strike, Emit, or put Out any Bills of Credit of the Nature, or Tenor of the Bills of Credit in this Government, on any Fund, or Credit of any Person, or Persons, Society, or Company, to be used, and improved as a General Currency, or Medium of Trade, as, and in lieu of Money, such Person, or Persons, Society, or Company, and Every of them shall be subject to the same Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures, and be punished in the same Manner, as those are by this Act subjected to who shall be Convicted of Forging, or Counterfeiting the Bills of Credit Emittted by this Government.

And that if any Person, or Persons in this Colony, shall Utter, Vend, or Pass any Bills, or Notes, or any other Currencies whatsoever, which either have been, or hereafter shall be Struck, Emittted, or put Out to be used, as aforesaid, on the Fund, or Credit of any private Person, or Persons, Society, or Company whatsoever, either in this, or the Neighbouring Governments; he, or they so Offending, shall Forfeit double the Sum, or Value expressed in such Bill, Note, or other Currency. The One Half thereof to him, or them that shall Prosecute the same to Effect; and the Other Half to the Town Treasury, when the Trial shall be before an

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 24-27.

Assistant, or Justice; and to the County Treasury when it shall be before the County Court.

And all Grand-Jurors, and Constables are hereby Required to make Presentment of all Breaches of this Act.

The decade from 1750 to 1760 showed an enormous increase in counterfeiting and passing, most of which can be traced to the influence of what was called the "Money Club" at Dover in Dutchess County, New York, "where," as the *New-York Gazette: or, the Weekly Post-Boy* of March 15, 1756, put it, "'tis said a large Gang of Villains have harboured for a considerable Time past, few of which but have a Crop or a Brand-Mark upon them, as it is a Sort of Disgrace for one reputed honest to be seen among them."

*Nathaniel Fales*

Several persons, presumably in Norwich, were the victims of a coiner. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 25, 1751, carried the following item: "We have Advice from Norwich in Connecticut, that Nathaniel Fales of that Town, has lately put off a great Number of counterfeit Dollars (supposed to be made by himself and a Gang of other Rogues) by which two honest Men are quite ruined, and several others are great sufferers. The said Fales is now gone to Halifax."

*John Bill*

In October, 1752, John Bill of Norwich was apprehended and brought before John Phelps, J.P., of Hebron through the efforts of Abraham Palmer, Elijah Buel and others. It appeared to the justice of the peace that the prisoner was guilty of counterfeiting bills of credit, so he committed him to jail in Norwich. Bill, however, broke out and escaped but was later recaptured and released on bail furnished by Joseph Bill of Norwich. John did not appear in court and his bond was declared forfeited.<sup>3</sup> He presently returned to his evil doing, as will be seen later.

<sup>3</sup> C. & M. IV, 195-198 and V, 179; *Col. Rec. Con.* . XI, pp. 443-444.

*Benjamin Force*

Justice John Williams of Sharon, on a complaint made by Samuel Elmer of that town, issued, on November 13, 1752, a warrant for the arrest of Benjamin Force of Dover, New York, whom Elmer charged with having passed to him a counterfeit £3 Rhode Island bill. At first Force pleaded not guilty when he had been arrested and was taken before the magistrate for examination. Later, however, he expressed a desire to be accepted as King's Witness against several other persons. His bail was set at £200, which was furnished by David Hamilton, Daniel Parker and Samuel Elmer. On June 12, 1753, Justice Williams wrote to Samuel Pettibone, the King's Attorney, informing him that Force had testified in a court at Poughkeepsie against several persons, of whom two, Captain Joseph Boyce and Joseph Hicks had been convicted. The letter concluded with the hope that the "Club" might be broken up.<sup>3</sup>

*John George*

Captain John Payson of Woodstock on December 28, 1752, complained to William Chandler, J.P., of Killingly against one George Kimball of Newbury in Essex County. Payson charged that he had received in trade of Kimball three counterfeit 20s. new tenor bills of New Hampshire. On a writ issued by the magistrate, Isaac Dana of Pomfret, Deputy Sheriff of Windham County, arrested Kimball, who was taken before Justice Chandler to be examined. The prisoner said that his name was John George and that he belonged to Hampton, New Hampshire. He admitted having knowingly passed the false paper money, which he said he had obtained from Dr. Sam Dusten at Haverhill for a horse, bridle and saddle. He had left two of the counterfeits with the wife of Mr. Kimball of Haverhill and had passed five of them in Connecticut. He added that he was to receive a parcel of £3/10 bills from one Bill, and he asked to be admitted as King's Evidence. His bail was set at £500, and, as he could not obtain a bond,

<sup>3</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752-1759, O-R; S.C. Records 10, Aug. 14, 1753.

he was committed to the jail in Windham. In February, 1753, he escaped because of the weakness of the building but was pursued and taken again by Eleazer Fitch, Sheriff of Windham County. Soon, however, though now secured in irons, he managed to break out again and on this occasion made good his escape despite a hot pursuit by Sheriff Fitch.<sup>4</sup>

*Solomon Bill*

On December 4, 1752, a complaint was made to Joseph Phelps, J.P., that Solomon Bill on October 15 passed to Daniel Newcomb of Hebron a counterfeit Mexican silver piece known as a cob. Bill was promptly arrested and at his examination before Justice Phelps stated that he got some cobs from a man in Boston near the Town House in November. He was bound over to the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in March, 1753, and was released on bail of £200 furnished by himself, Noah Dewey and Robert Avery, all of Lebanon. In court Bill pleaded not guilty. The witnesses called against him were John Demmon, Nathaniel White and Simeon Curtis, all of Lebanon, and Elisha Dyer of Boston. Bill was tried, acquitted and ordered dismissed on payment of costs of £22/4/10. Daniel Edwards, probably Bill's attorney, took the silver piece to Charles Whiting, goldsmith in Norwich, and had the money tested. Whiting pronounced the coin to be of silver and genuine, so that Bill in October, 1753, petitioned the Assembly to excuse him from paying the heavy costs of prosecution, a prayer which was denied.<sup>5</sup>

*Jabez Cary, Jr.*

Constable Paul Hibard of Mansfield on February 1, 1753, searched the house of Jabez Cary, Jr., and in a chest found the following items, a melting ladle, pieces of lead plated, twenty-two forms with holes

<sup>4</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1753; C. & M. IV, 180-182, 191-192, 199-200.

<sup>5</sup> S.C. Records 10, March 20, 1753; S.C. Files, Hartford, March, 1753; C. & M. IV, 189-190.

through them and a peg holding them together, two pieces of white metal in imitation of pistareens, some borax, melted metal, and an account of time and money spent. Cary, it was learned, had sent his brother to take the false pistareens from the chest, but the lad arrived too late. Cary was charged with having made five pistareens on January 30 and was arrested on a warrant issued by Justices Jonathan Huntington and Eliphalet Dyer. The prisoner was released on bail of £200 furnished by himself and his father, Jabez, Sr. Richard Cary, a minor and no doubt the brother of the suspected counterfeiter, was released in bail of £100 to appear as a witness. On March 20 at the Superior Court in Windham Jabez was indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £50 and costs of £15/13/3.<sup>6</sup>

*John Campbell*

The *Boston Weekly News-Letter* of August 30, 1753, printed a New York dispatch, dated August 20, which read: "Last Wednesday a Man was taken up and committed to jail at Stanford, in Connecticut, on suspicion of belonging to a Gang of bold Villains who have lately committed several Robberies about that Part of the Country: On his Examination a Parcel of counterfeit Dollars and two Shilling Pieces were found in his Possession." The man referred to was John Campbell, and his arrest came about when Justice Jonathan Hoyt issued a warrant for the arrest of the vagrant. On August 16, 1753, a person dressed in a white frock and trousers, who refused to tell his name, was brought before the magistrate. A search revealed in his possession thirteen dollars, fifty-one half dollars and eighty-eight quarters, all presumably counterfeits. John Campbell, for such was his name, was not admitted to bail and was jailed until August 21, 1753, when he was brought before the Superior Court at Fairfield and indicted for having, about July 20 at Stamford, counterfeited milled dollars and half and quarter dollars. He was tried, convicted and sentenced to serve a term of six months in prison and to pay costs of £12/6/6. In

<sup>6</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1753; S.C. Records 10, March 20, 1753.

February, 1754, when his term had been served, the Superior Court ordered that he be released if he paid the costs and an additional £4/1/6 for certain other charges. Otherwise he was to be sold for a reasonable time to pay the costs and charges.<sup>7</sup>

*Jacob Mace, John Cogswell and Jacob Wiley*

On August 30, 1753, Thomas Bacon, Jr., a grand juror, complained to Henry Bowen, J.P., against Jacob Mace, blacksmith and transient person, and two residents of Woodstock, John Cogswell, yeoman, and Jacob Wiley, trader. All three had been passing counterfeit £4 Rhode Island bills of the emission of 1750 and were charged, Mace with passing such a bill on August 20 to Pennel Bowen, a hatter in Woodstock, Cogswell with passing such a bill on August 18 to William Chandler, shipjoiner of Woodstock, and Wiley with passing such a bill on August 15 to John Payson, gentleman. Warrants were issued, and all three suspects were arrested, Cogswell by Constable Daniel Child of Woodstock and Wiley by Deputy Sheriff John Chamberlin. The prisoners were bound over to the next Superior Court to be held in Windham and were released, each on bail of £100, furnished for Mace by himself, John Carpenter of Woodstock and Joseph Benjamin of Windham, for Cogswell by himself, Seth Hodges and William Bradin, all of Woodstock, and for Wiley by himself and Josiah Mills of Killingly. Cogswell, however, was presently discharged from the bond and taken into custody. All three were indicted at the September session of the court.<sup>8</sup>

Mace was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law,<sup>9</sup> but before long was either released from the workhouse or, much more likely, escaped, for soon he was in the Province of New York and again engaged in counterfeiting. Wiley's case was put over to the December session but when, on December 25, he was called three

<sup>7</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1750-1759, Bra-C, Aug., 1753; S.C. Records 10, Aug. 21, 1753, and 11, Feb. 17, 1754.

<sup>8</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, Sept. and Dec., 1753.

<sup>9</sup> S.C. Records 11, Sept. 18, 1753.



times, neither he nor his surety, Josiah Mills, appeared<sup>10</sup> and his bail was forfeited. He fled and joined Sandford's band of rogues in Ridgefield. Cogswell's trial also had been deferred to December and he was freed on bail of £100 provided by Joseph Benjamin. Unhappily for his surety, a hue and cry after Cogswell was proclaimed by the Rhode Island authorities because in June in that province he had passed to George Gardner seven false £16 Rhode Island bills. As a result Cogswell was seized and carried to Rhode Island, where he was tried and convicted at the Superior Court in Newport. Since he was confined in the Newport jail in December, he naturally did not appear at the Superior Court in Windham. His bail was declared forfeited, and, when Benjamin appealed in May, 1754, to the Assembly for relief from paying his bond, his prayer was denied.<sup>11</sup>

*William Shapley, Jedediah Cady and Jeremiah Lisha*

By November 22, 1753, three inhabitants of Killingly, William Shapley, husbandman, Jedediah Cady, husbandman, and an Indian named Jeremiah Lisha were under arrest for counterfeiting. Constable Samuel Porter had complained that Shapley was involved in counterfeiting or passing £4 bills of New Hampshire and £8 bills of Rhode Island and had taken him up on a warrant issued by Justice William Chandler. Cady had been informed against to Chandler by Henry Bowen of Woodstock and arrested by John Corbin, Jr., a sheriff's deputy. Constable Hezekiah Cutler had complained to Joseph Cady, J.P., against Lisha for aiding Jedediah Cady in passing false Rhode Island bills of the emission of 1750 and he had been apprehended by Nathaniel Wales, Jr., a sheriff's deputy.

At his examination he stated that he had obtained twelve dollars and £150 in paper money from William Carpenter of New Salem and had passed two £8 Rhode Island bills of the emission of 1741 to Widow Joannah Utter of Killingly but he had not known the money was false. He was indicted at the Superior Court at Windham on De-

<sup>10</sup> S.C. Records 11, Dec. 25, 1753.

<sup>11</sup> C. & M. IV, 234; S.C. Records 11, Sept. 18 and Dec. 25, 1753.

cember 25, 1753, was tried, acquitted and released on payment of costs of £16/17/8.<sup>12</sup>

Cady was indicted at the same time as Shapley for having on July 1, 1753, and at various times in the same month at Killingly assisted Owen Sullivan, a transient person, in engraving and making a counterfeit plate and in stamping therefrom a great number of counterfeit Rhode Island £4 bills of the emission of 1750. He pleaded not guilty, though at his examination before Justice Chandler he had admitted his guilt. He was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law. An order was issued on January 2, 1754, that before the end of that month he be cropped, branded with C, sent to the workhouse and deprived of all his estate. On January 7 Sheriff Fitch performed the cropping and branding but could discover no estate.<sup>13</sup>

Cady's home was remote from travel and distant from neighbors, a fact which probably induced Sullivan to seek his aid. In any event, Cady permitted Sullivan and his associates (Jeremiah Lisha told of one Bacon, Captain Cogswell, Sullivan and Jacob Wiley being present at Cady's house) to use the chamber in his house for their counterfeiting. When they had finished striking off bills, they gave Cady about £400 of the money, which he put in a box and buried in the ground. Later he took it out and burned all the paper money. From jail on May 8, 1754, he petitioned the Assembly for release, and a considerable number of fellow townsmen sent in a testimonial concerning his good care of his aged father and mother and his fine reputation before he was drawn into the counterfeiting scheme. The Assembly decided to release Cady, who was then about thirty years of age, on condition that he pay all costs of prosecution and find surety in the amount of £50 for his good behavior for life and the peaceable surrender of his body to the sheriff if so required. Further he was to go to Killingly and reside within the limits of the town, where he might carry on all lawful business.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, Dec., 1753; S.C. Records 11, Dec. 25, 1753.

<sup>13</sup> S.C. Records 11, Dec. 25, 1753; S.C. Files, Windham, Dec., 1753, and March, 1754.

<sup>14</sup> C. & M. IV, 203-205; *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 277.

The Indian, Lisha, at his examination on November 22, 1753, before Justice Joseph Cady, pleaded guilty and told how Jedediah Cady had given him £80 in bad money to pass, with the understanding that he keep half the profits. He added that he had passed it all in Rhode Island at Smithfield and Narragansett and that he had sent £40 to Jedediah by Elisha Herinton of Smithfield. He had, moreover, recently obtained £48 in bills from Jedediah and passed them all. He added the names of the persons to whom he had uttered the bills, but these persons denied having ever changed any money with Lisha, so it would seem that his imagination had been given free rein. Apparently the King's Attorney was of this opinion, for he decided that there was not sufficient evidence against the prisoner, so the court ordered him released on payment of costs of £6/5/-. Lisha, unhappily, had no money, so he offered to serve to pay the costs, and it was finally agreed that he serve Eliphalet Dyer, Nathaniel Wales and Isaac Warner, all of Windham, for two years, in return for which they paid his costs.<sup>15</sup>

*John Clark and the Beardslees*

In September, 1753, John Clark, alias Stoddard, a mason of Stratford, secured from the "Money Club in Dover" a large quantity of counterfeit £8 Rhode Island old tenor bills. He then approached Benjamin Beardslee of Stratford, son of Josiah Beardslee, and induced him to take eight of the bills to pass, and of them Benjamin uttered four. Soon Clark went away to get another parcel of bills, and during Clark's absence Beardslee, thinking over what he had done, burned the remaining four bills and then bought back the four which he had passed and burned them also. When Clark returned, Benjamin refused to take more bills from him, so Clark, it seems, got Israel Beardslee, 2nd, and John Beardslee to pass his bogus money for him.

Clark and Israel and Benjamin Beardslee were complained against by Constable Ebenezer Hinman of Stratford and were all arrested and

<sup>15</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, Dec., 1753; S.C. Records 11, Dec. 25, 1753.

brought before Samuel Adams, J.P., on December 3, 1753. Clark was committed to jail, Israel was released on bail and Benjamin was dismissed. When Clark was arrested, twenty-six £8 bills of Rhode Island of the emission of February 2, 1741, were found in his pocket. At the Superior Court held at Fairfield on February 19, 1754, he was indicted for having in October 10, 1753, in Stratford uttered to Benjamin Beardslee a counterfeit Rhode Island 40s. bill of the emission of 1741. Clark pleaded guilty and was sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>16</sup>

After suffering corporal punishment Clark was returned to jail but soon broke out and made good his escape. Counterfeiters soon approached him but he refused to join them and gave information against them. His position was, indeed, a difficult one, for he was subject to arrest at any moment and was under sentence of imprisonment for life. In addition he was exposed to the hatred and malice of the counterfeiters against whom he had turned and was worried about the future of his wife and two small children. In these circumstances he petitioned the Assembly in October, 1754, to give him liberty to go about his lawful business, a request which was seconded by Justice Adams, who stated that Clark had been cooperative and well behaved of late. The Assembly lent a receptive ear and granted the liberty requested with the proviso that Clark remain within the limits of Stratford and that if he left the bounds of that town his privileges would be forfeited.<sup>17</sup>

Benjamin Beardslee, who had at first been released as innocent by Justice Adams, some three or four weeks later returned to the magistrate and told him all, involving John Beardslee, who, until then, had not been suspected. John was taken up, charged with procuring counterfeit bills to be made and uttering them, was examined by Justice David Rowland, and released on bail of £50 furnished by himself and Francis Hawley of Stratford. When he was

<sup>16</sup> C. & M. IV, 296a; S.C. Records 11, Feb. 19, 1754; S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1750-1759, Bra-C, Feb., 1756.

<sup>17</sup> C. & M. IV, 250-252; *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 301.

called at the Superior Court in Fairfield on February 19, 1754, John did not appear and his bond was declared forfeited.<sup>18</sup>

Israel Beardslee, as has been stated above, had been brought before Justice Adams. The complaint against him, lodged by Constable Hinman of Stratford, was that he had been passing counterfeit Rhode Island 40s. bills of the emission of 1741. Adams released his prisoner on bail of £300, provided by Israel Beardslee himself, his father, Josiah, and his brother, Benjamin. Israel's own account of his troubles is as follows: he let John Clark take a mare and saddle of his to sell when Clark went off to Dover to work there as a mason. When Clark returned, he gave Israel £136 for the horse and saddle, all in £8 Rhode Island bills. Israel had some doubts about the paper money but Clark insisted that the bills were good, and such competent persons as Captain Hyde and Captain Hawley of the Society of Ripton and Mr. Gibb and Captain Edward Ellen of Milford viewed the notes and pronounced them genuine. When, however, some bills were passed and scrupled, Israel tried to buy them back. He was, however, soon arrested and when released on bail intended to stand trial but was foolishly dissuaded by friends and relatives, including his father-in-law, Samuel French of Stratford, to whom Israel had passed two of the false bills. An appeal made to the Assembly by Israel met with success, for on May 12, 1755, it was ordered that his forfeited bond of £300 be chancered down to £50.<sup>19</sup>

Benjamin Beardslee, who had finally made a full confession to Justice Adams, had been complained of, about January 26, 1754, to Justice David Rowland by Lyman Hall of Fairfield. Benjamin, when arrested, pleaded guilty and was released in bail of £50 to appear at the next Superior Court in Fairfield. He expected, on the basis of encouragement given him by Justice Adams, to be admitted as King's Evidence but that prospect evaporated when Clark pleaded guilty and another forfeited his bond. So Benjamin did not risk appearing in court, and the bond furnished by him and his father was declared

<sup>18</sup> S.C. Records 11, Feb. 19, 1754.

<sup>19</sup> C. & M. IV, 271-274; S.C. Records 11, Feb. 19, 1754; *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, pp. 370-371.

forfeited. Benjamin appealed to the Assembly in May, 1755, for release from the bond but without success. A year later, however, the Assembly ordered that the amount be cut from £50 to £25 if he would pay that sum, plus all costs, to Robert Walker, the King's Attorney for Fairfield County.<sup>20</sup>

*Zephaniah Stevens, Peter Smith and Eliphalet Sloson*

In December, 1753, Zephaniah Stevens, described as head of a tribe of money makers, persuaded Peter Smith of Norwalk to admit him to his house. There, for some three days in December, Stevens, aided by Smith and Eliphalet Sloson, struck off £8 bills of the latest emission of Rhode Island. During a temporary absence of Stevens and Sloson, Smith became either frightened or remorseful and threw some of the bills in the fire. Then, on the advice of Ichabod Doolittle, he turned Stevens out of the house, though permitting him to take with him the rest of the bills. Later Smith and Sloson, who lived in Stamford, were complained of to Joseph Platt, J.P., and were both arrested by Nehemiah Rogers, a sheriff's deputy. Each was bound over to the next Superior Court to be held in Fairfield and each was released on bail of £100, furnished for Smith by Peter and Nehemiah Smith and for Sloson by Eliphalet Sloson and John Fancher of Stamford. Smith forfeited his bond by not appearing at the court in February, 1754, but in October was successful in an attempt to induce the Assembly to have his bond chancered down to £25 on condition that he pay that sum at once and also a further £25 with the costs of the suit on the bond. Sloson, as there was not sufficient time to try his case at the February session, was bound over to the August session, when the grand jury returned his indictment ignoramus and he was released on payment of costs of £13/4/6.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> C. & M. IV, 275-280; S.C. Records 11, Feb. 19, 1754; S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1750-1759, A-Bet; *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 522.

<sup>21</sup> C. & M. IV, 246-249; S.C. Records 11, Feb. 19 and Aug. 20, 1754; S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1750-1759, Sil-Z, Jan. and Aug., 1754; *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, pp. 300-301. By October, 1759, Sloson had died (*Col. Rec. Conn.* XI, pp. 327-328).

Stevens, described as a "transient person," had been complained of on January 8, 1753, by John Slocum of Newport, Rhode Island, and Samuel Brown of Norwalk, and was arrested by Ephraim Jackson, a sheriff's deputy, and taken before Justice Joseph Platt on January 10. On examination he confessed that he had assisted in counterfeiting £8 Rhode Island bills of the emission of March 18, 1750, and was committed to jail. He was indicted at the Superior Court held at Fairfield in February, pleaded guilty and was sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>22</sup>

*Joseph Nichols*

About the middle of February, 1754, complaint was made to Joseph Platt, J.P., that Joseph Nichols of Ridgefield was guilty of counterfeiting bills. A warrant was issued and Nichols was taken up and brought before Samuel Olmstead, J.P., who, upon examining him and not finding sufficient evidence to bind him over to the Superior Court, gave judgment that the prisoner be released on payment of costs, which were considerable. As Nichols could not pay them, he was confined in the jail in Fairfield, from which he presently broke out and fled to Ridgefield, where he was active as one of Sandford's gang.<sup>23</sup>

*Nathaniel Key*

Another suspected counterfeiter, Samuel Key, made an equally successful escape from prison in New London at some time before April 5, 1754. On February 8 he had passed to Captain Richard Durfey of New London four counterfeit 20s. New York bills. Durfey complained at once to G. Saltonstall, assistant, who issued a writ, and Key was arrested that same day by Deputy Sheriff John Christophers. Key admitted that he had passed the money but claimed he did not know that it was false. In his pocketbook were found nineteen more

<sup>22</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1750-1759, Sil-Z, Feb., 1754; S.C. Records 11, Feb. 19, 1754.

<sup>23</sup> C. & M. IV, 254.

counterfeit 20s. New York bills and a note, written at Killingly on January 17, 1754, and signed by Thomas Allen, who by the document gave power of attorney to his well beloved friend, Nathaniel Key of Killingly. It was observed that the handwriting of the note was like that of the signers' names on the bills. Saltonstall set bail at £100 and had Key committed to jail. The authorities in New York, when they heard of Key's apprehension, requested that the prisoner be sent to them but on April 5 Governor Wolcott of Connecticut sent the disappointing reply that Key had broken jail and escaped.<sup>24</sup>

*Thomas Hugford*

Thomas Hugford of Greenwich may have had a hand in making the New York bills passed by Key, for Hugford was arrested by Ephraim Jackson, sheriff's deputy, on January 16, 1754, on a writ issued by Joseph Platt, J.P., and charged with helping Owen Sullivan to strike off 40s. New York bills. At the Superior Court held in Fairfield in February his case was continued to the August term. In the meantime he was released on bail of £200 furnished by John Clap and Jabez Mead, both of Greenwich. At the August session of the Superior Court the grand jury returned Hugford's indictment ignoramus, and he was released on payment of costs of £13/4/6.<sup>25</sup>

*Averell and Coggshall*

Two men from Connecticut, named Averell and Coggshall, were arrested and tried in March in Newport, Rhode Island, where they were convicted of passing £16 bills of Rhode Island. Averell was pilloried, cropped and branded in March but Coggshall's punishment was to be deferred to May.<sup>26</sup> It is probable that the bills came from a plate made by Owen Sullivan.

<sup>24</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1754; Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, pp. 84-86.

<sup>25</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1750-1759, Hil-L., Jan. 1754; S.C. Records 11, Feb. 19 and Aug. 20, 1754.

<sup>26</sup> *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, March 28, 1754, p. 2.



*David Sandford*

On January 25, 1754, David Sandford of Salem in the Oblong in the Province of New York set out from Waterbury for Woodbury in the company of two other travellers, Barnabas Merwin of Wallingford and Elisha Hall, Jr., of South Kingston, Rhode Island. Sandford told the others that unless he could change a 20s. New York bill he could neither eat nor drink. When they arrived that evening at the tavern of Isaac Brounson, Sandford pretended to be intoxicated and sought to get the landlady to change the money but she refused. Another patron of the tavern, however, James Lewis of Bateman's Patent changed the bill.

As the travellers proceeded on their way, Sandford spoke of being well acquainted with Jacob Mace and also of knowing where plates for counterfeiting were. When Merwin and Hall informed him that they suspected he had been putting off counterfeits, he bade them say nothing and go with him, for he would make them gentlemen and put a thousand pounds in their pockets. Then, as they approached Hurd's tavern in Woodbury, he said he was going to put off some more money and offered to bear their expenses, threatening, however, to kill them if they said a word to expose him. The next day he offered a false 20s. New York bill to pay the reckoning.

In Waterbury on January 25 Sandford had passed nine 20s. New York bills and one of 40s., all of the issue of December, 1737. One of his victims, Joseph Hopkins of Waterbury, on January 26 made a complaint against Sandford to Thomas Clark, J.P., in Waterbury and Sandford was arrested the same day. When questioned by Justice Clark, Sandford said he had received the 20s. bills from Nathaniel Nichols of Woodstock and the 40s. bill from an Irishman named Sullivan. He admitted that both these men were counterfeiters and that they had lived in his house, where they had the liberty of a chamber for carrying on their business of counterfeiting. He added that one James Brown told him that Nichols had passed two 20s. New York bills from the same counterfeit plate, one in Redding and the other

in Bedford, New York. Sandford was committed to the jail in New Haven and at the Superior Court held in that town of February 26 he was indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>27</sup>

From a complaint sent to the Assembly in May, 1754, by a large number of inhabitants of Ridgefield and Norwalk, something is learned of his subsequent activities. After previously being imprisoned in New Haven, he had broken out and fled to his family in Salem, New York, where he assembled a gang at his house and there counterfeited the bills of New York and Rhode Island and also Spanish dollars. In the fall of 1753 he had kept in his home Owen Sullivan, a notorious money maker, and together they had stamped a large quantity of New York bills.

About April 26, 1754, Sandford and his gang planned to rescue some neat cattle which had been attached for debt but the officer in charge guarded the cattle with some twenty men, and the attempt of the desperados failed. The same night, however, they tried to set fire to a barn where the cattle were being kept under lock and key but the evil design came to naught, since a guard had been set and he fired at the counterfeiter. These villains immediately set fire to some fences in a neighboring field, and a high wind fanned the flames. While the people were trying to quench them, Sandford and his followers set new fires on the other side of the field.

A week later, at dead of night, the counterfeiter came to the Parish of Wilton to the home of Mr. Deforest, who had the attached cattle in his keeping, cut the tongue out of one of his cows and set a brisk fire near the house. Had the blaze not been discovered in the nick of time, both the house and barn would have been consumed and probably also the people in the house.

Two of Sandford's active abettors were Jacob Wiley and Joseph Nichols. Nichols had been convicted of forgery and both men had been prosecuted for counterfeiting. The rogues were bent on taking revenge on those who had been instrumental in exposing their villainies. With this intent Nichols came to the back side of the house

<sup>27</sup> S.C. Files, New Haven, Feb., 1754; S.C. Records 11, Feb. 26, 1754.

which had been mentioned in the deed he had forged and, looking in at the window, he asked his daughter, who was busy weaving, why she stayed there. When she replied that it was to finish the cloth, Nichols told her that she would pay for it if she did, as he, Sandford and Wiley would burn or destroy the house that night. He then ordered her to give him all the shot in the house and, when she would not at first comply, he pointed a pistol at her and forced her to do his bidding. He told her, moreover, that he would certainly kill her if she told of his design.

The poor girl was terrified but ventured to tell a woman in the neighborhood, and she promptly made all known, so that a watch was set. The watch saw Sandford's dog and suspected the criminals were near. Presently fires broke out at some distance from the dwelling and, before they were put out, considerable damage was done. Nichols had further told his daughter that he planned to burn the house of Samuel Olmstead, the justice of the peace who had prosecuted him.

The people of Ridgefield and Norwalk were incensed at such outrages. In their petition to the Assembly for relief they pointed out that the desperate fellows went armed in defiance of all law and government. Sandford, for example, showed one man three pistols and another which he carried loaded, and swore to be the death of the first man who should venture to lay hands upon him.

Despite this bravado, a number of young men of Ridgefield, with the aid of the Constable of Salem, captured Sandford without any bloodshed, and their prisoner was remanded to the New Haven jail, from which he had escaped before. On his way back to prison he "Spoke terrible words in Defiance of all the Goals in the Colony." The memorialists stated that the damage caused by fires set by the gang was computed to exceed £4,000, while the loss of time and labor by people watching and working to save their property in this time of drought was estimated at £100 a day. In case Sandford escaped again, he would be more dangerous than before.

The petitioners prayed that he be kept secure in jail and also all the others who might be taken. Their capture was considered a

dangerous undertaking and one not to be accomplished without the shedding of blood. In the gang were Nichols, Wiley, one of Sandford's sons and others, all of whom were distressing people by setting fires and lurking armed about the borders of Ridgefield.

In keeping with a report made by a committee of the Assembly appointed to study the matter, that body in May, 1754, ordered the King's Attorney to see that Nichols and his band were taken and that officers of all counties help him and that he secure as much assistance as was needed. The Assembly likewise went on record in commendation of Abigail Nichols, Joseph Nichols' daughter. Their resolution reads:

This Assembly, observing the prudent and good Conduct of Abigail Nichols of Ridgfield and her just attachment to publick Virtue and the common Good, when under violent Temptation to the contrary, in Disclosing the wicked Design of certain convicted Desperados and Banditti in said Town, and the special Danger she is in, of becoming a Victim to the merciless Rage of those detestable Miscreants; as incidentally represented in the Memorial of some of the Inhabitants of s<sup>d</sup> Town now before this Assembly, think proper to manifest their high Approbation of the Conduct of the said Abigail Nichols; and recommend her to the special Care and Protection of the Civil Authority; and the charitable Compassion of all true Lovers of their Country.<sup>28</sup>

*Litchfield County Counterfeiters*

In the summer of 1754 a number of passers of counterfeits were detected in Litchfield County. About July 14 Sheriff Oliver Wolcott complained to Ebenezer Marsh, J.P., that William Mallory of Kent, John Clothier, Jr., of Cornwall and Odel Squire of Cornwall had passed, about May 9, some false Rhode Island bills of the emission of 1741. Squire at his examination before Justice Marsh on the charge of having passed an £8 bill (PLATES XXXIII-XXXIV) to Jacob Brownson of New Milford, who in turn had passed it to

<sup>28</sup> C. & M. IV, 206-209, 254-255.

Captain Wolcott, said he was in partnership with Clothier and he told of having sold in April to Captain Joseph Boyce a yoke of oxen for £118. Odel was bound over to the next term of the Superior Court, committed to jail and released on July 24 on bail furnished by himself and Reuben Squire of Cornwall. Clothier was also taken up and examined by Justice Marsh on July 18 on the charge that he had passed two counterfeit £8 Rhode Island bills, one of them to Joseph Pangborn, Jr., of Cornwall. Clothier's story was that he had obtained one such bill from Silas Chapman—who took it back—and another from Mr. Hazzard of Stratford for canoes, while he had also received from a Mr. Atwater or a Mr. Hamblin a new £8 New Hampshire bill. Clothier was also bound over to the August, 1754, term of the Superior Court in Litchfield.<sup>29</sup>

At this session of the court both men were indicted, pleaded not guilty, and, as there was no time for their trials, were bound over to the August, 1755 term of the court. They were released on bail of £130 each, furnished for Clothier by Phineas Spaulding and John Clothier, Sr., both of Cornwall, and for Squire by Reuben Squire of Cornwall and Joseph Pangborn, Sr., of Canaan.<sup>30</sup> At the August, 1755 sessions Odel Squire failed to appear, while Clothier was reported to be ill and unable to attend, so that his bail was continued.<sup>31</sup> At the Superior Court held in Litchfield on August 17, 1756, Clothier was still ill. The King's Attorney, however, entered a nolle prosequi and informed the court that he had been unable to find sufficient evidence against the accused. It was then ordered that Clothier pay costs of prosecution in the amount of £21/5/4.<sup>32</sup>

Odel Squire's sureties in October, 1755, petitioned the Assembly, asking to be relieved from making good their bond which had been declared forfeited. Their prayer was granted on condition that they pay all costs and charges that had already arisen in Squire's case and

<sup>29</sup> Data concerning Squire and Clothier in S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752–1759, O–R.

<sup>30</sup> S.C. Records 11, Aug. 13, 1754.

<sup>31</sup> S.C. Records 11, Aug. 12, 1755.

<sup>32</sup> S.C. Records 12, Aug. 17, 1756.

that they bring him before the Superior Court to be held in Litchfield on the fourth Tuesday in November.<sup>33</sup> When Squire appeared at that court he was tried, acquitted and ordered to pay costs of £24/8/10. As Odel had no money with which to settle this obligation, Jesse Squire of Cornwall offered to pay and accept Odel in service in compensation therefor. The court agreed to this, ordering Odel to serve Jesse for five years, during which time Jesse was to provide him with meat, drink, washing, lodging and apparel.<sup>34</sup>

William Mallory (or Mallery) was examined on July 17, 1754, by Justice Marsh and bound over to the Superior Court to be held in Litchfield in August, 1754. He was released on bail of £50 provided by himself and John Hamilton. It was charged that about June, 1754, at New Milford he had passed to Paul Welch, Jr., a false £8 Rhode Island bill of the emission of 1741. In August the grand jury returned his indictment ignoramus, and he was released.<sup>35</sup>

Samuel Comstock and Sherman Boardman, both of New Milford, on July 15 informed against Jehiel Murry (or Murray) of Merryall to Paul Welch, J.P. They charged that he had passed two counterfeits, a £16 Rhode Island bill dated March 18, 1750, to Paul Welch Jr., of New Milford and another to Joseph Weller of the same town. Murry was committed to jail by the magistrate and at the August, 1754 term of the Superior Court at Litchfield was indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law, while Comstock and Boardman as informers were granted the reward of £10.<sup>36</sup>

Comstock and Boardman also complained to Justice Welch on July 16, 1754, against David Owen of New Milford for having passed counterfeit Rhode Island 40s. bills, one to Joseph Lamb (which Owen said he received from John Clothier), (PLATES XXXV-XXXVI) another to Samuel Comstock, and a third to Ebenezer Leonard. Owen was bound over to the Superior Court to be held at Litchfield in

<sup>33</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, pp. 437-438.

<sup>34</sup> S.C. Records 12, Aug. 17, 1756.

<sup>35</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752-1759, O-R, Aug., 1754.

<sup>36</sup> S.C. Records 11, Aug. 13, 1754; S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752-1759, O-R, Aug., 1754.

August, at which he was indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law. On May 7, 1755, his father, David Owen, Sr., of New Milford petitioned the Assembly, stating that his son, then about twenty-one years of age, would like to be released from jail to enlist without premium in the army and allow deduction to be made from his pay to satisfy all costs (which amounted to £15/19/9 as far as charges for prosecution were concerned). This request was rejected.<sup>37</sup>

Owen also, it appears, got Samuel Cogswell of New Milford into difficulties, for in September, 1754, Owen brought him some molds and desired him to run some half and quarter pieces of eight out of pewter. Samuel ran ten of each in the shop while the folks were all gone from home and cracked the crucible by melting pewter in it. The pieces were put into a bag and the bag was hidden in a hole in the jamb, except for two pieces, of which one was given to Elisha Wood and the other was in the pocket of a pair of leather breeches hung up in the house, where one Ferris found the counterfeit coin. Cogswell was arrested, examined by Justices Samuel Canfield and Paul Welch and bound over to appear at the Superior Court to be held in Litchfield in August, 1755. On November 1, 1754, he was released on bail of £50 furnished by Daniel Bowman of Kent and Micah Palmer of New Milford. He was indicted in August, 1755, tried, convicted and sentenced to receive thirty-nine stripes and to pay costs of prosecution amounting to £17/8/6.<sup>38</sup>

An £8 Rhode Island bill of the emission of 1741 got Samuel Little of Litchfield into trouble with the law. On August 30, 1754, Sheriff Oliver Wolcott complained to Timothy Collins, J.P., that about August 26 Little had passed the counterfeit to Captain Griswold of Litchfield. Samuel was arrested, examined before Justice Ebenezer Marsh and bound over to the Superior Court to be held in Litchfield in August, 1755. He was released on bail of £50 which was furnished

<sup>37</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752-1759, O-R; S.C. Records 11, Aug. 12, 1755; C. & M. IV, 258.

<sup>38</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752-1759, O-R; S.C. Records 11, Aug. 12, 1755.

by himself and Thomas Little. At the Superior Court he and his bail were called out by proclamation and his bond was declared forfeited.<sup>39</sup>

*Caesar Trick, Peter and Mary*

In December, 1754, Caesar Trick, a mulatto "famous for Stealing Committing Burglary and almost all other Crimes and Misdemeanors,"<sup>40</sup> was indicted for counterfeiting in Lebanon on December 1 four £2 Rhode Island bills, four £2 New Hampshire bills, five 2/6 New Hampshire bills (PLATE XX) and two 6s. New Hampshire bills and signing two 2/6 bills and one 6s. bill. He had for some time lived in the wilderness "Armed with weapons and Instruments of terror and Death to Prevent his being taken and brought to Justice and was a Common Nuisance to ye Publick." Among his other offences Caesar had stolen a mare from Abner Hyde of Norwich. Nathaniel Huntington of that town determined to rid the community of Caesar. Having obtained a writ in favor of Hyde against Caesar for the theft of the mare, Huntington pursued and captured the mulatto. The Superior Court in Windham in February, 1753, gave judgment against Caesar for £24 damages and £9/-/6 costs and assigned him to Hyde for eight years of service to pay the judgment. Huntington paid the money to Hyde and, having thus gotten legal possession of Caesar for eight years, he jailed him in irons until he could arrange to send him out of the country. Caesar, however, "according to his wonted practis Soon Broak Prison and Run away and Returned to his former wickedness with ye addition of Counterfeiting and passing bills of Publick Credit."<sup>41</sup>

At the Superior Court held in Windham in December, 1754, Caesar was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law. It was

<sup>39</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752-1759, O-R; S.C. Records II, Aug. 12, 1755.

<sup>40</sup> Caesar, late servant of Stephen Gardner, had, for example, been indicted at the Superior Court held in New London in April, 1749, for having on October 13, 1748, broken open the house of Prosper Wetmore in New London and attempted to rape Anne Wetmore, Prosper's wife (S.C. Files, New London, March, 1749).

<sup>41</sup> C. & M. IV, 257, the memorial of Nathaniel Huntington to the Assembly.



ordered that on January 1, 1755, between the hours of ten in the morning and four in the afternoon, he have his right ear cut off, be branded on the forehead with C, and be committed to prison for life.<sup>42</sup> Nathaniel Huntington now applied to the Assembly to have his servant released to him upon some reasonable terms, and the Assembly in January instructed Joseph Fowler of Lebanon to release the prisoner to serve Huntington for life if Huntington pay, or give good security to pay, all costs and charges, which amounted to £24/8/4, for which sum Huntington gave Fowler a note.<sup>43</sup>

Caesar soon effected another break from the jail of Windham County but Huntington with great trouble and expense recaptured him and sold him for £200 to Captains John and Joseph Denison of Stonington to be transported to the Bay of Honduras and sold there.<sup>44</sup>

Nathaniel Harvey, a sheriff's deputy, on December 12, 1753, had arrested Caesar at the house of a negro named Peter, formerly the servant of the late Mr. Richardson of Lebanon, and his wife, an Indian named Mary. In their house were found the counterfeiting plates and some £30,000 or £40,000 in paper bills which Caesar had brought there. Peter had on December 8, 1753, passed to Samuel Clark of Lebanon a false 2/6 bill of New Hampshire and the next day Mary had uttered a counterfeit 6s. New Hampshire bill to Elizabeth Alden, wife of John Alden of Lebanon. Peter was indicted, tried, convicted, and sentenced in accordance with law, and his ear was cut off and he was branded on January 1. His release from the workhouse was requested by David Richardson, presumably the son of his former master. The Assembly granted the request and Richardson was given Peter as his servant for life on payment of all costs and charges.<sup>45</sup> Mary was indicted, tried, acquitted and ordered discharged on payment of costs of £15/19/10. Since she had no money, it was ordered

<sup>42</sup> S.C. Records 11, Dec. 24, 1754; S.C. Files, Windham, Dec., 1754.

<sup>43</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 333; C. & M. IV, 253, 257.

<sup>44</sup> C. & M. IV, 257.

<sup>45</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, Dec., 1754; S.C. Records 11, Dec. 24, 1754; C. & M. IV, 253; *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 333.

by the court that in order to satisfy the obligation she enter into the service for fifteen years of David Richardson of Lebanon, who was to provide "Meat, Drink, Apparel, Washing, lodging Suitable and sufficient for Such a Servant."<sup>46</sup>

*Nathan Knap*

Nathan Knap of Redding was arrested, probably in November, 1754, on a complaint that about November 6 at Fairfield he had passed a counterfeit Rhode Island bill to Ezra Hecock of Norwalk. Knap was bound over to the Superior Court to be held at Fairfield in February, 1755, and was released on bail of £100 furnished by Knap and Peter Malery of Redding. He was indicted on February 18 but, when he was called three times, he did not appear, and his bond was declared forfeited.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> S.C. Records 11, Dec. 24, 1754.

<sup>47</sup> S.C. Records 11, Feb. 18, 1755.

## IX

### THE YEARS 1755-1760

The Superior Court held at Windham on April 3, 1755, had before it the cases of four suspected counterfeiters, two of them, Jacob Preston and Edward Sumner, Jr., from Ashford. On March 5 Nicholas Parker of Killingly complained to Henry Bowen, J.P., that Preston had passed to him a false £8 New Hampshire bill, whereupon a writ was issued and Preston was taken up by John Chamberlin, sheriff's deputy. Preston was bound over to the Superior Court and released on bail of £100 furnished by Preston and Alexander Sessions of Pomfret. When the court convened, Preston was called three times but did not appear and his bond was declared forfeited. Parker was granted the reward of £10. Sumner was arrested about March 14, charged with having on February 14 passed a false New Hampshire bill to Daniel Dow of Ashford. His indictment was returned ignoramus by the grand jury and he was dismissed.<sup>1</sup>

A third passer of New Hampshire counterfeits was David Adams, alias Timothy Green, of East Haddam, who at Woodstock on March 27 passed a false 2/6 bill to Samuel Morris, Jr., of Killingly. Morris at once complained to Justice Bowen, who had Adams arrested and, after examining him, bound him over to the Superior Court, setting bail at £200. As Adams could not provide a bond, he was committed to jail. He was indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law. On the evening of April 10, the day he was sentenced, he broke jail in company with Samuel Dusten and was not retaken.<sup>2</sup> It is not unlikely that he was the "Timothy Green" who in 1767 tried to have plates made in New York City for counterfeiting the bills of

<sup>1</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, April, 1755; S.C. Records 11, April 3, 1755.

<sup>2</sup> S.C. Records 11, April 3, 1755; S.C. Files, Windham, April, 1755.

North Carolina and was punished by being pilloried for an hour and then whipped through the streets of the city.<sup>3</sup>

The source of the false New Hampshire money was doubtless Dr. Samuel Dusten (also called Dustin, Dunston, or Dunstin) "of Haverhill, Essex County, physician." In the summer of 1751 Dusten had been associated with Jonathan Woodman and Joseph Bill in counterfeiting and passing New York and New Hampshire bills and later that year had been arrested and tried in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for passing bogus paper money of that province. By some strange chance, for he was surely guilty, he had been acquitted. A New York newspaper in August, 1751, described him as a tall, slim man, wearing red plush breeches and a black wig.<sup>4</sup>

On March 27, 1755, at Woodstock Dusten made the following counterfeit bills: of Rhode Island ninety of 40s. and fifteen of £5; of New Hampshire thirty-eight of 1s., three hundred and forty-five of 2/6 and three hundred and sixty-five of 40s. Captain John Payson complained of Dusten to Justice Bowen, and the physician was arrested, examined and bound over to the Superior Court, with bail set at £200. At the April sessions he was indicted, tried, and convicted. On April 10 he was sentenced in accordance with law but the same night, together with Adams, broke jail and fled to parts unknown.<sup>5</sup>

Daniel Meach of Canterbury was probably an accomplice of Dusten. On March 27, 1755, John Hughes complained against Meach for having in Stonington, about February 20, passed three 40s. Rhode Island bills dated February 2, 1741, to Ephraim Smith of Stonington. Meach was arrested by Isaac Warner, sheriff's deputy, and examined on May 28 in Norwich by Hezekiah Huntington, assistant, and Justices Ebenezer Backus and Jabez Huntington. Bail was set at the unusual sum of £1,000 and Meach was committed to jail, from which, with the aid of some "vile accomplices," he broke out and escaped.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, pp. 126-127.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 75-78.

<sup>5</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, April, 1755; S.C. Records 11, April 3, 1755. Payson and Morris, as informers, were granted a reward of £10 between them.

<sup>6</sup> S.C. Files, New London, Sept., 1755, and March, 1757.

*Counterfeiters in Sharon*

About the middle of July, 1755, Jonathan Hunter of Sharon discovered that three of his fellow townsmen, Amos Tyler, Caleb Strong and Ebenezer Jackson, Jr., were involved in counterfeiting and passing. Upon his complaint to John Williams, J.P., they were arrested and examined by Justices Williams and James Landon. Hunter charged that Tyler had in his custody false bills, coin or counterfeiting implements, and when Tyler was taken up, David Hamilton, sheriff's deputy, found a counterfeit Spanish dollar in the chimney wall of Tyler's house. At their examination, however, there appeared to be nothing conclusive against them, when suddenly Jackson, who apparently had been engaged in counterfeiting for only a short time, offered to turn King's Evidence. He then admitted that he had received £50 in false Rhode Island bills, of which he had passed about half, for example, one 40s. bill and two £5 bills to Zachary Hoffman of Dutchess County, New York. He also denounced his associates.

At his first examination, before Justice Landon, he swore that he had received a bad dollar as good from Amos Tyler as part of the payment for a yoke of steers. Later, however, after he had been accepted as King's Evidence, he admitted that the dollar had been passed him by Tyler with the full knowledge of both men that the coin was counterfeit. Because of this contradiction the justices decided to use him no longer as King's Evidence, and he was bound over to the next Superior Court to be held in Litchfield to answer to a charge of perjury. He was then released on bail of £100 provided by himself and his father.

Before the next sessions of the Superior Court a grand juror, learning that Jackson had put off some counterfeit £5 bills, lodged a complaint against him and Jackson was arrested, bound over to the August sessions of the Superior Court and released on bail of £60. The King's Attorney decided not to prosecute Jackson for perjury but, when he was called three times on August 12 at the Superior Court

to answer to the charge of having passed counterfeit bills, he did not appear and both his bonds were declared forfeited.

Jackson, on May 15, 1756, petitioned the Assembly that his bond be forgiven or abated. He stated that he could not pay in full without bringing ruin on his father and pinching want on his wife and children. The petition was accompanied by a testimonial to his good conduct, signed by a number of persons before Samuel Hutchinson, J.P., on May 14, a certificate by Cotton Mather Smith that Ebenezer had conducted himself "like a true and humble Penitent," a statement that on the Lord's Day Jackson had publicly made confession of his sin, and a declaration about his good conduct made by Justice John Williams. The Assembly was favorably impressed and voted that he was to be discharged from the bonds on payment of £30 and all costs.<sup>7</sup>

David Hamilton, sheriff's deputy, on July 22 made a thorough search of Amos Tyler's house, where he found nine counterfeit £5 Rhode Island bills on a shelf and eight more wrapped up in paper and placed under a stone. Tyler had shown him these bills, for before the magistrate he had made a full confession. He admitted that, persuaded by a "wicked man," he had received and passed counterfeit Rhode Island bills. He was bound over to the Superior Court to be held in Litchfield and was released on bail of £60 furnished by himself and Bezaleel Tyler, Jr., of Sharon, and this he forfeited by failing to appear in court. Like Jackson, he petitioned the Assembly, stating that he could not pay his bond without the ruin of his father and innocent brother and claiming that he had been trying night and day to discover the man who had led him into passing false money. The Assembly reduced his bond to £20 plus all costs.<sup>8</sup>

Caleb Strong at his examination by Justice Landon was acquitted by the magistrate of passing a false dollar but Justice Williams bound him over to the next Superior Court to be held in Litchfield in August

<sup>7</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752-1759, O-R; C. & M. V, 11-15; S.C. Records 11, Aug. 12, 1755; *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 511.

<sup>8</sup> C. & M. V, 7-9; S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752-1759, O-R; *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 518.

to answer to a charge of perjury, since he had denied that he *knew* the dollar he passed to Jackson was false. He was released on bail of £100 furnished by himself and Jonathan Gillet of Sharon. When he was on his way to his trial, he was arrested by Deputy Sheriff David Hamilton on a charge of passing counterfeit bills. He was acquitted of this charge but his arrest prevented his appearance to answer to the charge of perjury, so that the £100 bond was declared forfeited. On May 16, 1756, he memorialized the Assembly, setting forth that he was a poor man with a wife and numerous children and that he owed various just debts. His request for relief from payment of the bond and costs was granted.<sup>9</sup>

*Passers of Rhode Island Counterfeits*

On August 13, 1755, David Ensign of New Hartford delivered to Justice Roger Sherman a false £5 Rhode Island bill of the emission of 1737 (PLATES XXXVII–XXXVIII), which he said he had received of Ephraim Wilcox, alias Wilcoxon, of New Hartford. Wilcox was arrested and at his examination admitted that in July he had received six such bills from Silas Briggs at Pepper Cotton, of which he had passed one to Constable Eliakim Merrols, one to Roger Crow, two to Stephen Chub of New Hartford, one to Mr. Cole of Farmington, while he had sent one by Francis Garret to Joshua Moses in Simsbury. He was bound over to the Superior Court to be held in New London in September and was released on bail of £100 posted by himself and Ephraim Wilcox of Lymebury in Hartford County. He was indicted on September 23, 1755, tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>10</sup>

In Middletown on August 23, 1755, Timothy Bigelow of that town complained to Jabez Hamlin, J.P., against Hugh Gillespy, Eliphalet Stephens (or Stevens) and John Ryan for uttering false £5 Rhode Island bills dated August 15, 1738 (PLATES XXXIX–XL). All three

<sup>9</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752–1759, O–R; C. & M. V, 44.

<sup>10</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752–1759, O–R; S.C. Records 11, Aug. 12 and Sept. 23, 1755.

were arrested, and, after they had been examined, Ryan was dismissed, while, for want of bail, Stephens and Gillespy were committed to jail. Both were indicted at the Superior Court in Hartford, Gillespy for having passed counterfeits to Sampson How, Jno. Bird, Elijah Dean, David Strickland and John Ryan, Stephens for having passed bad money to Return Meigs, Elihu Starr and Ann Fisk (wife of Jno. Fisk). Both were tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>11</sup>

It appears that Gillespy was also wanted by the authorities of Fairfield County for passing bad bills, for he was bound over to the Superior Court to be held in Fairfield in August, 1756, and on February 23, 1756, was ordered to be committed to jail by Justice Samuel Smith. On May 12, however, he petitioned the Assembly, requesting his release on condition that he enter the army or go into the King's service on board some ship of war that was going off from the coast. The request was approved by the upper house but denied by the lower house, which, however, later concurred with the upper house. The Sheriff of Hartford County was ordered to provide the prisoner with the necessary clothing and, if he did not enlist, was to return him to jail "either with or without further corporal punishment."<sup>12</sup>

Another suspected counterfeiter and passer of Rhode Island paper money was William Hambleton (or Hamilton), of Dutchess County, New York, against whom George Cable of Fairfield complained on August 23, 1755, to David Rowland, J.P. Hambleton was arrested by Benjamin Keeler, sheriff's deputy, and was bound over to the Superior Court, with bail set at £100.<sup>13</sup> There seems to be no record of what was done with him at this time but it is probable that he was committed to jail, escaped, and was the William Hamilton of Danbury, who, as will be seen, was arrested and examined on March 9, 1756.

<sup>11</sup> S.C. Records 11, Aug. 26, 1755.

<sup>12</sup> C. & M. V, 36-38; *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, pp. 535-536.

<sup>13</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1750-1759, D-Hid.



In 1743 William Robinson of Killingly, through a legal technicality, had escaped conviction for helping his brother to alter a bill. He had, however, failed to learn to mend his ways, for on September 16, 1755, Hezekiah Cutler, a constable of Killingly complained to Joseph Leavens, J.P., that Robinson had passed false £16 Rhode Island bills old tenor, known as "Crown Point Money." Robinson was arrested and at his examination admitted passing four bills to Samuel Cook, one to Thomas Newel's wife, one to David Waters, one to Amasa Sessions and one to his wife who was to pay it to Timothy Green. He claimed that he had got the bills from Samuel Stuart for a horse. He was bound over to the Superior Court to be held at Windham in March, 1756, at which he was indicted for having passed a counterfeit £16 bill on August 11, 1755, to Josiah Mills of Killingly. He pleaded not guilty, was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>14</sup>

Another suspected passer of these £16 Rhode Island bills at about this time was a transient person who called himself Anderson and who toward the end of August, 1755, in the home of John Smith, Esq., in Voluntown tendered to Smith a counterfeit bill. He told John Dixon and Joseph Eaton, both of Voluntown, who seem to have been present at the time, that he had obtained the bill from Caleb Green in Rhode Island. Eaton went to Green, who denied this, whereupon Eaton and Dixon complained to Jeremiah Kinny, J.P., who issued a warrant for Anderson's arrest. Peter Ayers, an officer specially appointed for this business, together with Eaton and Dixon, pursued Anderson to the home of Willet Larraby in Preston. At sight of his pursuers Anderson fled and hid in a field of corn, where he was found and taken to Larraby's house. When the bill could not be found on him, Anderson told them that he had destroyed it. Eaton then went to Rhode Island and returned, bringing witnesses, who had seen Anderson with the bill and also said that his real name was George Brown, a fact which he now admitted. Justice Kinny had Brown kept in custody

<sup>14</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1756; C. & M. IV, 282; S.C. Records 12, April, 1756; *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 534.

for four days by Robert Jamison, Constable of Voluntown, and then dismissed him for want of evidence.<sup>15</sup>

*Joseph Avery and his Accomplices*

In July, 1755, information reached Samuel Coit, J.P., of Preston that Joseph Avery of Norwich had come from Dover, New York, with one Cocker, who was suspected of having counterfeited Connecticut bills of the emission of January 8, 1755, and that these two men had a large quantity of such bogus money. Coit issued warrants for their arrest, and Cocker fled to Rhode Island, whither Coit sent Deputy Sheriff Roger Bills after him. Governor Hopkins of Rhode Island renewed the warrant but the fugitive was not sent back to Connecticut. Coit did have Avery apprehended but could not obtain sufficient evidence to bind him over to the Superior Court.<sup>16</sup>

The Connecticut 10s. bill had been counterfeited and these false notes were being passed in November, 1755. The *Connecticut Gazette* of November 22, under the heading of New Haven, stated:

Thursday last a Man was apprehended in this Town, on Suspicion of counterfeiting Money of this Colony: There was found upon him 14 Bills of *Ten Shillings* lawful Money of the *January Emission*, which appear to be counterfeit; but are so dextrously done, as hardly to be distinguished by a nice Observer: Strict Examination is now making to discover the Bottom of this Iniquity, and to give suitable Descriptions that People may not be imposed on; but as the Types seem to be the same with the true Bills, great Caution is necessary to be used.—A counterfeit 3 l. Bill of *New-York Money*, of 1746, was also found in his Custody.

A description of the counterfeit bill and a notice of the arrest of two more passers thereof appeared in the same newspaper of November 29. The item reads:

We hear one Man has been taken up at *Albany*, for passing some of the Counterfeit *Ten Shilling Bills*, of the *January Emission*, mentioned in our

<sup>15</sup> C. & M. Counterfeiting (unbound) III, 24-26.

<sup>16</sup> C. & M. IV, 259.

last, and another at Fairfield; the last of which, we are told, liv'd at *New-London*, and 'tis said has confessed the Types were stole from the PRINTER's there, as they are certainly the same sort of Types with the Originals, and very exactly done, only the Flourishes round the Bill, not quite so neat as the Originals. In the Arms of the true Bills, in the Word SIGIL, the Letters are of an equal Size, but in the Counterfeits, the Letter S, is larger in Proportion, than the I, and the I is rather less in Proportion, than the rest of the Word. *Also*, In the Body of the Bill, in the Words *By Order*, the B is larger in the Counterfeit, than the true Bills, and both the r's in *Order*, are less than in the true Bills, the *n* stands a little below the Line, but is strait in the Counterfeits, also *n*, in *Green*, in the true Bills, is blotted a little, but clear in the Counterfeits. 'Tis said there are *Twenty-Shilling* and *Forty-Shilling* Bills of the same Emission counterfeit, as they have the same Arms and Flourishes, but we have not seen any of them.

The person taken up at Fairfield was John Dunlop. On November 19, 1755, in Fairfield he passed a false 40s. proclamation bill of Connecticut to Jonathan Bulkley of that town. The same day Benjamin Keeler of Ridgefield complained of him to Justice Samuel Adams, who issued a warrant for the arrest of the suspected counterfeiter. Constable Nathan Bulkley took him up and brought him before the magistrate. On his person were found four more counterfeit 40s. bills. He was bound over to the Superior Court and was released on bail of £200 furnished by himself and John Simson of New London.<sup>17</sup>

At his examination Dunlop accused Daniel McLean of New London of aiding in counterfeiting and passing. Justice Samuel Adams of Fairfield at once sent word of this to Justice Pygan Adams of New London, who on November 21 had McLean arrested by Constable John Hempsted and committed him to jail because he could not find bail, which had been set at £300. McLean was indicted at the Superior Court held at Norwich on March 23, 1756, for imprinting four 40s. Connecticut bills and for assisting Dunlop in signing them. He was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>18</sup> Dunlop, who

<sup>17</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1750-1759, D-Hid.

<sup>18</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1756; S.C. Records 12, March 23, 1756.

was indicted on February, 1756, at first pleaded not guilty but then changed his plea to guilty and was sentenced in accordance with law. On February 20 he petitioned the court that execution of the sentence might be postponed until after May that he might have an opportunity to memorialize the Assembly. He stated that he was ignorant of the law and had been brought into the wicked scheme by another person.<sup>19</sup>

The Superior Court at Norwich at this time also dealt with two other suspected counterfeiters, Joseph Avery and Zephaniah Spicer. Spicer, who came from Preston, at Norwich about January 1, 1756, passed four false 10s. Connecticut proclamation bills to Captain Ephraim Bill, who complained against him to Justice Ebenezer Backus. On the magistrate's warrant Spicer was arrested by Deputy Sheriff Prosper Wetmore and brought before Justice Backus, who bound him over to the Superior Court and committed him to jail since he could not furnish bail, which had been set at £150. At the Superior Court he was indicted for having passed the four bills to Captain Bill and also for having about December 15, 1755, passed sixteen false 10s. Connecticut bills to Joseph Brewster of Norwich. He was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law, while the informer, Captain Bill, was granted a reward of £10.<sup>20</sup> From the New London jail, to which he had been transferred on March 30 along with the other counterfeiters convicted at Norwich, he sent a petition to the Assembly. He stated that he was young, mentioned his poor, sickly wife and two small children and requested that he be released on condition that he enter the army for the expedition against Crown Point.<sup>21</sup> The Assembly promptly resolved that he might enter his name "in the form of enlistment with any enlisting officer of the troops of this Colony rais'd for said expedition." If he did not enter the service and remain in it until legally dismissed, he was to be subject to being remanded back to jail.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1750-1759, D-Hid; S.C. Records 12, Feb. 17, 1756.

<sup>20</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1756; S.C. Records 12, March 23, 1756.

<sup>21</sup> C. & M. IV, 281.

<sup>22</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 250; C. & M. IV, 278.

The *Boston Weekly News-Letter* of April 1, 1756, published the following item: "Also we hear that three Men were convicted at Norwich for counterfeiting Connecticut Bills; for which two of them received their Punishment on Saturday last, and the other on Monday." Two of them, as we have seen, were McLean and Spicer. The third was Joseph Avery, who had been arrested in the summer of 1755 but dismissed for want of evidence. Now, however, he was indicted for having at Norwich about May 31, 1755, made and signed four 20s. and ten 10s. Connecticut proclamation bills and also for having passed to persons unknown a 40s. Rhode Island new tenor counterfeit and some 20s. New Hampshire new tenor counterfeits. He was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>23</sup> While he was in the custody of Dayton Smith, Keeper of the New London jail, Avery, McLean and Spicer apparently spent part of their time in picking junte.<sup>24</sup> Avery possessed a considerable estate, which was sold through a committee, appointed by the Assembly, consisting of Hezekiah Huntington, Isaac Tracy and Captain William Witter. The Assembly likewise was called on to decide about many claims against his estate, one of which was made by his mother, Tabitha Avery, who stated that she had lent Joseph £44/5/- old tenor and that he owed her £7/15/- for keeping his house, cooking, washing and caring for his seven cows.<sup>25</sup>

*Owen Sullivan*

Doubtless one of the most important counterfeiters of the Colonial Period was Owen Sullivan, who was taken up in the year 1756. The *Connecticut Gazette* of March 25, 1756, under the heading of New Haven, printed the following brief notice:

On Wednesday last was bro't to the Goal in this Town, . . . . . Syllavan, *alias* Johnson, the famous Money Maker, who was detected and taken in Dutchess County, on Hudson's River, about 120 Miles above New-York,

<sup>23</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1756; S.C. Records 12, March 23, 1756.

<sup>24</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1756.

<sup>25</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, pp. 519-521, 535, 551-552; C. & M. V, 19-35.

in that Government, by the extraordinary Address and Resolution of Cornet Eliphalet Beecher.—We have a short Account of said Syllavan, which perhaps would not be disagreeable to our Readers, but for want of Room, must defer it till our next.

The account, which appeared in this newspaper on April 13, 1756, is not found elsewhere and it gives details of Sullivan's career which would not otherwise be known. It reads as follows:

Syllavan, alias Johnson, a few Years ago lived in Boston, and carried on the Goldsmith's Business, he was remarkable for being always flush of Money, tho' he lived in an expensive Manner, above his visable Income. A Difference between him and his Wife first bro't him under Suspicion: She having drank somewhat too freely, call'd him the £40,000 Money-maker, which being overheard, and several other Circumstances being collected against him, he was taken up on Suspicion, but got Securities for a very large Sum, stood Trial, and was acquitted, but not without a general Suspicion of his Guilt, which made him think proper to remove to Rhode-Island; where he counterfeited large Sums of Money, and had several Accomplices; but being suspected, they were all taken up. He strenuously pressed them to deny the Fact, and declare that the counterfeit Money proved to be passed by them, was received of him as true Money, assuring them, that if they acted according to his Direction, he would bring them all off clear; They all complied except one, who thinking to turn King's Evidence, confessed his having passed Money knowing it to be counterfeit; but his Evidence not convicting any of the rest, it was only taken against himself, the rest were all acquitted, he and Syllavan only were found guilty, and condemn'd to be cropt and branded. Syllavan being a Man of good Address, found Means to prejudice the Populace in his Favour, and got his Sentence executed in a Manner that did no Injury to his Person: And tho' he was by Sentence to remain a Prisoner, yet he obtained the Liberty to be present when the Sentence was to be executed upon his Accomplice, saying he would see it effectually done, as a Punishment for his Folly and Perfidy. Accordingly, being but slightly guarded, he broke from his Keepers, seiz'd a Cutlass, got into the Ring and encouraged the Executioner to do his Duty with Rigour, which being done, he fought his Way thro' the Crowd, escaped, and eluded the Pursuit made after him. A few Days after, he came and surrendered, saying, he would do that voluntarily, which he

had shown them, they could not force him to do. A few Days after, he broke Goal, and tho' pursued, made his Escape Sword in Hand, much in the same Manner as before; and retired to Dutchess-County, in the Province of New-York, where he provided himself with a secret retreating Place, and a Set of Accomplices for vending the Money that had been, or should be made by him, and supplying Necessaries, Conveniencies and Correspondents for putting the Business upon a regular Footing, and living comfortably upon it. Being an excellent Artist at casing and engraving, he so nicely counterfeited the Paper Currency of almost all the neighbouring Governments, that hardly the best Judges, could discover his, from the true Money. He carried on the Business successfully, for a considerable Time, vending large Sums, and getting for them true Money, Bonds, or other valuable Effects, and a large Resort of Company to him, so that it may be suspected he has many Accomplices yet undiscover'd. As his Exploits in Boston and Rhode-Island, in some Measure, wore out of Mind, he ventured to travel incog. and once went over to Rhode-Island. A considerable Trade was carried on last Year with his Money, among the Soldiers; who not suspecting it, took it instead of, or in Exchange for true Money; but the Fraud being at last discovered, and trac'd till some of the Parties concern'd, were detected; some of them were cropt and branded, and more of the Gang bro't under Suspicion. Cornet Eliphalet Beecher having been active in this Discovery, and suspecting two Tavern Keepers (Hunt and Morehouse) to belong to the same Gang, he went to one of them, and taking Occasion to change some Money with him, was paid a counterfeit Bill in part of his Change: He charg'd the Tavern Keeper with it, who at first deny'd it was counterfeit, then deny'd he knew it was so; but refused to tell the Person he had it of, and would gladly have given other Money for it; but Mr. Beecher carried him before a Magistrate, and by his Confession, several more of his Accomplices, and many of their Proceedings were discovered; particularly the Place of Syllavan's Retreat, whom it is said, there was now a Reward offer'd for taking. Mr. Beecher, taking one of the Prisoners with him for a Guide, went in Search of Syllavan's retreating Place. His Guide led him to a Swamp, in a large unfrequented Wood, where in the Side of a small Cliff of the Hill, made by the Stream, he removed some Brush, and the Stump of a Tree, which very artfully conceal'd the Mouth of a Cave; into this Cave Mr. Beecher and his Company went, and found it led by a long narrow Passage, into a handsome large

Room, cased round with Planks, and provided with many Conveniencies for lodging, sitting, eating, &c. &c. the Light was admitted by a Window cut from another Part of the Hill; but the Person they sought for was not to be found, for he hearing some of his Accomplices were taken, expected they would betray him, and discover his Habitation, and therefore abandoned it and fled to the Mountains, where he concealed himself 7 Days, from Saturday the 6th, to Friday the 12th of March, when being compelled by Hunger, he ventur'd to a House where he was acquainted, and hoped they would favour his Concealment, mean while Mr. Beecher search'd every House, which by the Information he could get from the Prisoners, and others, he had Reason to suspect: At last coming to the House where Syllavan was, he beset it with his Company, search'd it, and examined the People, they strongly deny'd any Knowledge of the Man sought for, but one of the Company finding some Dirt newly removed, they made a more diligent Search, and removing a Woman, Bed and all, who lay on the Floor, (it being about One o'Clock on Saturday Morning 13th) under the Bed they discovered a Plank cut in two, and not nailed down, and taking it up, they saw a Passage cut in the Earth, for there was no Cellar to the House, then calling to Syllavan, he came forth and surrendered himself. The Cavity where he was concealed, was dug under the Hearth, and had a Fire-place, the Smoak of which issued by a Vent into the Chimney above: It's said he offered a large Sum to Mr. Beecher, to let him escape, and that by his own Account, he has made Money, to the Amount of several Hundred Thousand Pounds: He says he can counterfeit any of the Money he has seen, but if he might be spared, would contrive a Plate that it should be impossible to counterfeit.<sup>26</sup>

It would seem from the wealth of detail in the above narrative that it was told to the printer of the *Gazette* by an eyewitness of the taking of Sullivan and also one thoroughly familiar with his past career of crime. It seems not at all unlikely that the source of the account in the *Connecticut Gazette* was Eliphalet Beecher himself, a resident of New Haven, where the newspaper was published.

As early as June 8, 1753, a grand jury in New York Province indicted Sullivan and two of his associates, Benjamin Chase and Jacob

<sup>26</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, pp. 81-82.



Mace, for stamping Rhode Island money. Mace, a blacksmith, at the Superior Court held in Windham in September, 1753, was convicted of uttering a counterfeit £4 Rhode Island bill and was sentenced in accordance with law, but it appears that he either escaped from jail or was released, for Eliphalet Beecher, encouraged by the Connecticut Assembly, about the end of December, 1755, or early in January, 1756, arrested two of Sullivan's accomplices, of whom one was Samuel Griswold and the other Jacob Mace. He brought both prisoners before Justice Haviland of Dutchess County, who, together with Justice Humphry, examined them. The justices made Beecher provide a bond to prosecute but refused to commit Griswold and Mace, so that Beecher complained to the Connecticut Assembly, which body requested the Governor of Connecticut to ask Governor Hardy of New York to assist Beecher.<sup>27</sup>

During the fall of 1753, as has been seen, Sullivan lived at the house of David Sandford in Salem, New York, where together they stamped a large number of counterfeit bills.<sup>28</sup> The article in the *Connecticut Gazette*, already cited in full, gave much of Sullivan's background from the time that he was a goldsmith in Boston. It appears that he came about 1748 to that town from Louisburg, where he had been convicted of uttering counterfeit dollars, and had been first arrested in Boston toward the end of August, 1749, and there convicted and punished with two hours in the pillory and twenty stripes.<sup>29</sup> His punishment for counterfeiting in Rhode Island was about the end of September or early in October, 1752.<sup>30</sup>

After Sullivan's capture by Beecher and a large posse, Sullivan was removed to New Haven and thence to New York City, where he was tried and convicted at the Supreme Court and on April 29 was sentenced to be hanged on May 7. His sentence was not fulfilled then for want of a hangman and he was respited to Saturday, May 8. The

<sup>27</sup> C. & M. IV, 261, 263-266.

<sup>28</sup> See above p. 117.

<sup>29</sup> *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Sept. 13, 1750, p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> *Boston Evening-Post*, Oct. 9, 1752.

night before, however, the gallows were cut down, presumably by some friends, and he was not executed until Monday. The *New-York Gazette: or, the Weekly Post-Boy* of May 17 thus describes his last moments:

*Owen Syllavan*, before he was turn'd off on Monday last, declared, That some Years ago he struck off Twelve Thousand Pounds of Rhode-Island Money, and passed above Sixteen Hundred of it in one Day: — — — That of the New Hampshire Currency he made Ten or Twelve Thousand Pounds: — — — Of Connecticut Cash he struck about Three Thousand Pounds: — — — And of the New-York Currency he printed large Sums of four different Emissions; the last of which was the Bills signed *Oliver De Lancey*, *John Livingston*, and *Isaac De Peyster*, and dated so late as March 25, 1755; to do which he had four Sets of Accomplices, who, he said, printed and passed other large Sums at Times unknown to him: And that he left the several Plates and Stamps with his Confederates, all of whom he allow'd deserv'd the Gallows as well as himself; but would not betray one of them, or be guilty (as he term'd it) of shedding their Blood; — — — Soon after which he took a large Cud of Tobacco, and turning round to the People said, *I cannot help smiling, as 'tis the Nature of the Beast*. And being ask'd, for the Benefit of the Publick, of what Denomination the Bills were which he printed of the New-York Money, answered, *You must find that out by your Learning*; and so died obstinate.

#### *Sullivan's Associates*

The Connecticut Assembly in May, 1756, voted that £10 be paid to Eliphalet Beecher out of money collected on bonds forfeited by sundry persons whom he had bound over to the Superior Court at Fairfield.<sup>31</sup> One of these persons was Elijah Keeler of Ridgefield, who was complained of by Beecher to Samuel Smith, J.P., who bound Keeler over to the Superior Court to be held at Fairfield in February, 1756, and then released him on bail of £40, furnished by Silas and Martin Keeler. Elijah did not appear in court, and his bond was declared forfeited.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> C. & M. V, 16-18. The Assembly at the same time voted him other sums owed him for apprehending Owen Sullivan and others (*Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 539).

<sup>32</sup> S.C.Records 11, Feb. 17, 1756.

Other associates of Sullivan, besides Griswold, Mace and Keeler, were Elisha Morehouse, two men by the name of Cogsdale, a Hunt (the brother of Ambrose Hunt) and Lieutenant Hoit.<sup>33</sup> One of these, Morehouse, a tavernkeeper in the Oblong in Dutchess County, was arrested. Eliphalet Beecher on February 2, 1756, took him before Thomas Benedict, J.P., in Danbury and charged him with passing counterfeit money. The magistrate bound over the prisoner to the Superior Court to be held in Fairfield in February, setting bail at £500. When Morehouse could not secure a bond in this amount, he was committed to jail. On February 21 Robert Walker, the King's Attorney, complained of him that on or about November 15, 1755, at Sheffield in Fairfield County he had uttered to Cornelius Vanhorn of Kinderhook a false 10s. Connecticut bill. Morehouse pleaded guilty and was sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>34</sup>

Other members of Sullivan's confederacy were, in all probability, John Clark of Stratford, William Hambleton (or Hamilton) of Dutchess County, New York, and Daniel Cornall (or Cornwall) of Croton River, Westchester County, New York. Clark had been convicted in February, 1754, at the Superior Court in Fairfield of passing counterfeit Rhode Island money obtained from the "Money Club" in Dover.<sup>35</sup> He was complained of in February, 1756, to Justice Samuel Adams, who bound him over to the next term of the Superior Court, setting bail at £80. On February 17 he was indicted for having on or about August 15, 1756, at Stratford uttered to Dr. Jonathan Labaree of that town a false £5 old tenor bill of Rhode Island and also on or about December at Stratford uttered a similar counterfeit to Jonathan Beardslee of Stratford. He pleaded not guilty but was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>36</sup>

William Hambleton (or Hamilton) of Danbury was committed to the jail of Fairfield County, on suspicion of counterfeiting, by David

<sup>33</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 455; C. & M. IV, 261, 263-266.

<sup>34</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1750-1759, M; S.C. Records 11, Feb. 17, 1756.

<sup>35</sup> See above p. 111.

<sup>36</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1750-1759, Bra-C; S.C. Records 11, Feb. 17, 1756.

Rowland, J.P., to be brought before the Superior Court at Fairfield on February 17, 1756, but Hambleton by violence broke jail and made his escape.<sup>37</sup> He was apparently soon recaptured and on March 9 was brought before Justices Paul Welch, Bushnel Bostwick and Roger Sherman in New Milford by Eliphalet Beecher, who accused his prisoner of passing false 10s. Connecticut bills of the emission of 1755 and also false Rhode Island bills. Hambleton confessed his guilt, implicating Jacob Patingall (or Patengill). He was bound over to the Superior Court to be held in August, with bail set at £100, but was soon released on bail of £50 to appear to give evidence against Patingall or Boyce.<sup>38</sup>

On February 5, 1756, Eliphalet Beecher brought Cornall before Samuel Smith, J.P., and the magistrate bound him over to the February term of the Superior Court in Fairfield, with bail set at £200. Since Cornall could not find bondsmen, he was committed to jail. He was indicted for having passed, about December 25, at Cortland Manor to Timothy Delaven of that place a false 10s. Connecticut bill and also, about January 7, at the same place another such note to Michael Abbot of Ridgefield and, about January 1, a third such bill to William Hale. Cornall pleaded not guilty, was tried, acquitted and dismissed on payment of costs of £21/18/6.<sup>39</sup>

Beecher, whose skill and persistence had led to the capture of Sullivan and the breaking up of the gang in Dover, had a number of suspected counterfeiters jailed in Litchfield. Ambrose Hunt, against whom Beecher was scheduled to bear witness, lived west of Sheffield in Hampshire County, Massachusetts. On December 9, 1755, Nathaniel Sperry of New Haven complained to Justice John Beebe that Hunt in November had passed some counterfeit 10s. Connecticut bills. Hunt was arrested and bound over to the August term of the Superior Court to be held in Litchfield in bail of £100, which was furnished by Joshua Whitney of Canaan. Hunt did not risk a conviction,

<sup>37</sup> S.C. Records 11, Feb. 17, 1756.

<sup>38</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752-1759, P-R.

<sup>39</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1750-1759, Bra-C; S.C. Records 11, Feb. 17, 1756.

for he failed to appear when called, and his bond was declared forfeited.<sup>40</sup>

Early in March, 1756, Beecher arrested five persons and took them before justices of the peace in New Milford, charging them with counterfeiting and passing bills of Connecticut and other provinces. His prisoners were Joseph Boyce, Sr., Joseph Boyce, Jr., Joseph Steel, Benjamin Pierce and Amos Fuller, all of Dutchess County. They were committed to the jail in Litchfield, and on June 13 the two Boyces, Fuller, Pierce and Jacob Patingall (who will be discussed presently) broke jail and made good their escape, leaving only Steel behind.<sup>41</sup>

Joseph Steel of Beekman's Precinct in Dutchess County was indicted at the Superior Court held in Litchfield on August 17, 1756, for having in May, 1754, at New Milford uttered to Tryall Gaylord (who had died by August 17, 1756), wife of Benjamin Gaylord, a false Rhode Island 40s. bill of the emission of 1741. According to a certificate, apparently found on Steel, which was dated at Ringwood, March 30, 1747, and was signed by John Ogden, Steel had for two years before that date been in service as a refiner of pig metal. The prisoner pleaded not guilty, was tried, acquitted (perhaps because Mrs. Gaylord was dead and the other counterfeiter had fled, leaving none to turn King's Evidence) but was not released because he could not pay the costs of prosecution. In October, 1756, the Assembly passed a resolution that he be sold "to any of his Majesty's English subjects" for such time as might suffice to pay for the costs or for such a sum as the sheriff might be able to sell him for if he could not sell him for the whole.<sup>42</sup>

William Hambleton (or Hamilton) in his confession had implicated Jacob Patingall (or Pattengill), and because of Hambleton's arrest by Beecher there can be little doubt that Patingall was connected

<sup>40</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752-1759, D-N; *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 573.

<sup>41</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752-1759, O-R.

<sup>42</sup> S.C. Records 12, Aug. 17, 1756; S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752-1759, O-R; C. & M. V, 46; *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 572.

with the "Money Club" in Dutchess County. On April 14, 1756, Joshua Whitney of Norfolk and Elnathan Ashmun of Canaan complained to Justice David Whiting against Patingall. A warrant was issued, and the informers arrested Patingall, on whom they found about forty counterfeit 10s. Connecticut bills. He was bound over to the Superior Court to be held in Litchfield in August but since he could not find bondsmen for the bail of £100 he was committed on April 15 to the jail in Litchfield, from which he broke out and escaped in company with the two Boyces, Pierce and Fuller. His accusers were granted a reward of £10 by the Assembly.<sup>43</sup>

Daniel Galusha of Dover, New York, was probably a member of the "Money Club." On April 1, 1756, a warrant for his arrest was issued in New London County, and on April 3 he was examined by Justice Simeon Miner in Norwich on suspicion of having been involved in counterfeiting and uttering bills of Connecticut and of the neighboring colonies. He was committed to the Norwich jail and kept there for five months before he was released, probably for want of sufficient evidence to obtain a conviction.<sup>44</sup>

It is not unlikely that Ebenezer Lothrop, the son of William Lothrop of Norwich, was associated with Galusha. Young Lothrop in February was taken before authority in his town to be examined on the charge of counterfeiting Connecticut bills. Before any decision had been made by the justice of the peace, Ebenezer broke away from the grasp of the officer and fled to distant parts, whence he wrote to his father. On May 10, 1757, William Lothrop petitioned the Assembly, requesting that his son be allowed to return home exempt from all prosecution, since all charges and costs had been paid in full by his father and friends and all the counterfeit bills passed by Ebenezer had similarly been made good. In case there should prove to be more of them, they too would be redeemed. The Assembly approved the request on condition that within ten days after Ebenezer's return he provide sureties in the amount of £100 for his good behavior. He

<sup>43</sup> C. & M., Counterfeiting (unbound) III, 71-74; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XI, pp. 271-272.

<sup>44</sup> C. & M. V, 57-60; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XI, p. 46.

came home on July 19, 1757, and the required bond was furnished by his father and a blacksmith named John Birchard.<sup>45</sup> In May, 1761, Ebenezer asked the Assembly to release him and his bondsmen from the bond and presented a testimonial to his good conduct which was signed by Richard Hide, Isaac Huntington, Ebenezer Lothrop, Simon Tracy, Jr., and Ebenezer Backus. The Assembly, unimpressed, denied his prayer.<sup>46</sup>

*Asa Phelps and his Associates*

The Assembly was informed in February, 1756, by Isaac Warner of Windham that Emerson Cogswell, David Keeney and Micah Palmer were strongly suspected of having in their custody a large quantity of counterfeit bills which they intended to pass. The legislators instructed Warner to search for the false bills, arrest all suspects, and bring them to trial. It was voted that all costs of the search be paid by the colony.<sup>47</sup>

Another of the gang was Asa Phelps of Simsbury, for whose arrest a warrant was issued in Hartford on February 24, 1756, by Jonathan Trumble, assistant. By it Deputy Sheriff Elisha Wales of Union was directed to apprehend Phelps and take him before Justice Ebenezer Wales. The deputy was prevented "by some crafty deception," as he put it, from taking Phelps.<sup>48</sup>

Jonathan Humphry of Simsbury, a sheriff's deputy, on March 9, 1756, received a writ signed by John Humphry, J.P., directing him to seize certain persons suspected of counterfeiting bills of Connecticut. He and Isaac Warner, aided by Hezekiah, Silvanus, Charles, Solomon, Benjamin, Jr., Daniel and Elihu Humphry, Benjamin Parker, Abel Moses, Joel and Elisha Cornish, John and Brewster Higley and Joseph Negus, pursued Cogswell, Keeney, Palmer and Asa Phelps. They found Phelps in the house of Captain Benjamin Griswold of

<sup>45</sup> C. & M. V, 54-56, 150-151; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XI, pp. 30-31.

<sup>46</sup> C. & M. V, 150-151.

<sup>47</sup> C. & M. IV, 267; *Col. Rec. Conn.* X, p. 463.

<sup>48</sup> C. & M. Counterfeiting (unbound) III, 75-76.

Windsor and also discovered there some counterfeit bills thought to have been made by Asa or his accomplices. Phelps was arrested but Captain Griswold persuaded the Superior Court in Hartford to have Phelps released, since Asa promised to bring out several persons involved in making and passing false bills.<sup>49</sup>

*Joseph Munsel*

Joseph Munsel seems to have been an associate of Dr. Samuel Dusten. On March 13, 1756, D. Edwards, assistant, in Hartford issued a warrant for the arrest of Munsel and Dusten. Moses Griswold went to Haverhill and on March 22 apprehended Munsel and took him before Seth Wetmore, J.P., who committed the prisoner to jail in Hartford. Munsel later got off his irons and broke jail but was apparently recaptured at Turkey Hills by Benjamin Griswold and returned to prison, where John Barnard, the jailer, put new fetters on him. Eventually King's Attorney Seamour entered a nolle prosequi, and it was ordered that Munsel be dismissed if he paid costs, amounting to £13/1/7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub>. As he had no money, his costs were paid for him by Jacob Munsel, to whom Joseph was then bound in service for a year and a half to satisfy the costs.<sup>50</sup> A 20s. note was introduced as evidence (PLATES XLI-XLII).

*Elijah Deane*

Daniel Tilletson of Hebron on July 2 complained to Justice Jabez Hamlin in Middletown against Elijah Deane of that town for uttering false 20s. Connecticut bills of the emission of January, 1756. Deane was arrested by Constable Russel and examined by Justice Hamlin. The prisoner admitted he had passed such a bill to John Gill and another to Tilletson but claimed he had received seventeen such notes when he sold a horse in Waterbury to Hugh Thompson. He was bound over to the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in

<sup>49</sup> C. & M. V, 39-43, 258-260; Col. Rec. Conn. X, p. 530 and XIII, p. 55.

<sup>50</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Dec., 1756.



September, and bail was set at £300. As he found no bondsman, he was committed to jail.<sup>51</sup> Since there seems to be no further record of him, it may be that he escaped from jail.

*Joseph Payne*

On or about July 21 a transient person named Joseph Payne in Cornwall passed a false English guinea to Hannah Tanner, wife of Constable William Tanner. Tanner the next day went to Nathaniel Smith, a justice of the peace of Dutchess County and made a complaint against Payne, who was arrested and examined by Smith on July 22. Payne admitted passing the guinea, which he said he had received about a year before at Noddles Island, situated about three quarters of a mile southeast of Boston, from a High Dutchman named Conrad Shaver who lived in Schenectady. Payne realized full well that he had a counterfeit, for he admitted that Dr. Foot told him in Litchfield that there was no more gold in the guinea than there was in his spur. After the examination Payne was brought to the colony line, where he was received in custody by Joel Harvey, Constable of Sharon, acting on a writ from Justice Williams. At the Superior Court held in Litchfield in August Payne was indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced to be whipped thirty stripes on his naked body and to pay costs of prosecution amounting to £13/1/2.<sup>52</sup>

*Joseph Benjamins*

Joseph Benjamins of Windham was examined on July 4, 1757, by Justice Samuel Gray on suspicion of having passed a false 6s. New Hampshire bill dated 1744 to James Fitch of Canterbury. Benjamins was bound over to the Superior Court to be held at Windham in September. His bail was set at £500 and for want of a bondsman he was committed to jail. The grand jury returned his indictment ignoramus, so that he was dismissed.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Dec., 1756.

<sup>52</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1752-1759, O-R; S.C. Records 12, Aug. 17, 1756.

<sup>53</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, Sept., 1757.

*John Carpenter*

John Carpenter of Woodstock was heavily in debt, which was perhaps the cause of his becoming a counterfeiter. In September, 1757, he passed to Jesse Cutler of Killingly a false 20s. Connecticut bill of the emission of January 8, 1755 (PLATES XLIII-XLIV). Samuel Knight, Jr., of Killingly complained of Carpenter to Samuel Chandler, J.P., a warrant was issued, and Constable Moses Child arrested Carpenter, who was bound over to the Superior Court to be held in Windham in March, 1758. He was indicted and tried on March 21 but before the jury brought in the verdict Daniel Paine of Woodstock and Caleb Grosvenor of Pomfret became bound in £300 for Carpenter's abiding final judgment. To secure his bondsmen Carpenter deeded all his land, valued at £384, to Grosvenor. Carpenter had passed other false bills, for example to Benjamin Bartholomew, David Allcut and Hezekiah Cutler, while Elizabeth Carpenter, his wife, had passed a counterfeit to John Nelson. In this situation Carpenter wisely failed to appear when the verdict of guilty was brought in by the jury. His bond was forfeited but eventually the Assembly had it chancered down to £132.<sup>54</sup>

*Thomson (alias Jones)*

Benjamin Galpin (or Galpen) of South Woodbury on June 12, 1758, complained to Daniel Everit, J.P., against a transient person, who called himself Jones or Thomson, for having in Woodbury on the night of June 2 passed to him a counterfeit Spanish milled dollar. A warrant was issued, and Stephen Galpin of Woodbury arrested Thomson and brought him before Justice Daniel Sherman. Thomson, for such he declared his name to be, stated that he had found the dollar by a path near Oxford, a parish in Derby. Justice Sherman bound him over to the Superior Court to be held at Litchfield in August, setting bail at £100 and, when Thomson could find no

<sup>54</sup> C. & M. V, 103; S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1758; S.C. Records 13, March 21, 1758; C. & M. Counterfeiting (unbound) III, 35; *Col. Rec. Conn.* Xi, pp. 190-191.

bondsman, committed him to jail. In court Thomson pleaded guilty and was sentenced to stand in the pillory for one hour, to receive thirty-nine stripes and to pay costs of £6/6/6.<sup>55</sup>

*John Bill*

Nathaniel Morse of Preston on September 25, 1758, complained to Hezekiah Huntington of Norwich against John Bill of that town, whom he charged with passing about April 1, 1758, a false 10s. Connecticut bill of the emission of January 8, 1755 (PLATES XLV–XLVI), to Zebadiah Story of Norwich. Bill was arrested and taken before Huntington, who bound him over to the Superior Court to be held in New London in March, 1759. Bill secured bail of £30 and was released. At the Superior Court his indictment was returned *billa vera* by the grand jury.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> S.C. Files. Litchfield, 1752–1759, O–R; S.C. Records 13, Aug. 15, 1758.

<sup>56</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1759..

## X

### THE YEARS 1764-1765

#### *The Gang of Coiners in Kent*

**I**n the *Boston News-Letter* of May 22, 1760, appeared the following item:

We find in the New-London Paper a Letter from Ashford dated April 26<sup>th</sup>, That a Person who calls himself Samuel Ellis, and says he belongs to Fish-Kills in New-York, was detected in offering Counterfeit Dollars, and upon Examination was found to have passed 7 or 8 of them, besides about 30 which he hid in some Coal at a Blacksmith's, where he had stop'd to have his Horse shod. On his being committed to Windham Goal, he gave Hints that it was in his Power to bring out a great deal of Business of the same sort for the King's Attorney in Connecticut.—And 'tis probable, many of these false Pieces may have got abroad, the Publick notified of the following Marks by which to know them, viz. *They have a new Face, and of a remarkably blue Colour, and not white as common Dollars be. Each one is about a Quarter of a Dollar too light. They fall bad, and are so soft, one may easily bite them; and the Letters on the Pillars, on each Side the Crown and Globe, are much too dull and blurred, except some of them, on which these Letters appear with a Preciseness, as if cut in the Metal since it came out of the Mould.*

Ellis' real name was Benjamin Swan and he came from Kent. He was bound over by Justice Amos Babcock in bail of £200 to the Superior Court held at Windham on September 16, 1760, at which "Samuel Ellis, alias Benjamin Swan" was indicted for having on April 24, 1760, uttered to James Ames of Woodstock seven counterfeit milled dollars. He pleaded guilty and begged the court to remember in his favor that after his arrest he frankly divulged the names and secrets of others combined in the same mischievous design, as a result

of which some were arrested and the gang was broken up. The judges fined him £20 and costs of prosecution.<sup>1</sup>

Since he had no money, he was assigned by the court to serve William Parke of Plainfield for a term of five years, while Parke paid the fine of £20 and gave a note for the costs, which amounted to another £20. Soon after Swan fell ill and when he recovered he went into the army, got the smallpox and died at Crown Point on July 3, 1761. Parke memorialized the Assembly in October, 1761, praying that he be released from paying the £20 due on his note, and his request was granted.<sup>2</sup>

Some members of the gang which was broken up by the disclosures of Benjamin Swan were Perez Partridge, Stephen Brown, Edward Cogswell, Jr., Samuel Palmer, Jacob Galusha and Park Beeman, all of Kent. Complaint against them was made on June 19 by Constable Eliphalet Comstock and Samuel Comstock, both of Kent, and Abel Camp of New Milford and warrants for the arrest of the suspected counterfeitters were issued by Justice Roger Sherman. Partridge, Cogswell, Beeman, Brown and Samuel Palmer were taken up by Eliphalet Comstock, who found and seized two false dollars on Partridge and three on Palmer. Daniel Barrit, a grand juror, complained on June 23 to Justice Sherman against still other suspected members of the gang, namely Zebulon Palmer, James Guthrie, Nathaniel Phillips and John Swan, Jr., all of Kent. One of them, John Swan, Jr., was arrested by John Slosson, a sheriff's deputy.

The prisoners were examined by Justice John Ransom of Kent. Beeman was considered not guilty and was dismissed on payment of costs of nine shillings; Samuel Palmer confessed that he was guilty of passing. Palmer and the others in custody were bound over to the August term of the Superior Court to be held in Litchfield and were released on bail of £50 for each. Bonds were provided as follows: for Brown by Brown and Simeon Fuller; for Partridge by Partridge and Joseph Carter; for Cogswell by Cogswell and Emerson Cogswell;

<sup>1</sup> S.C. Records 14, Sept. 16, 1760; S.C. Files, Windham, Sept., 1760.

<sup>2</sup> C. & M. V, 159-160.

for Swan by Swan and Isaac Swan; for Palmer by Palmer and Benjamin Skiff. Palmer, Partridge and Cogswell failed to appear in court and their bonds were declared forfeited, while Brown, who did appear, was accepted as King's Evidence and was discharged from his bond. The indictment of Swan, who was charged with having passed on May 20 at Litchfield a bad dollar to Mary Davis, wife of John Davis of that town, was returned ignoramus by the grand jury.

Something is known of the activities of Brown and Cogswell. Cogswell, in January, 1760, went to work for Stephen Brown, blacksmith, in Kent. There he learned to make brass buttons and buckles but soon Brown induced him to run a few pieces of pewter in a stamped leaden mold of a milled ninepence to see whether pewter could be cast in a lead mold. No use was made of the pieces that were cast and the mold was soon run into a mass. Next Brown asked Cogswell to experiment with making dollars, but Cogswell, as he claimed, became suspicious and left him. It was said that the two men had worked late at night in the smithy on the pretence of making buttons, and one Mary Curtis, who was "tayloring" at Brown's in January or February, stated that the men locked the workroom "to keep out children" and once brought in a dollar from the shop and rang it on the hearth.

At the Superior Court Cogswell heard a gentleman connected with the King's Attorney remark that "the name of Cogswell was above half enough to convict him," so that, thoroughly frightened, he fled and his bond was thus forfeited. In May, 1762, the Assembly granted that Cogswell and his bondsman be released from the bond if both or either paid down £25 and all costs before August 17. The three informers, Camp and the two Comstocks, were granted £5 each from the forfeited bonds.<sup>3</sup>

### *John Widger*

At the Superior Court held in New London in September, 1760, John Widger of Saybrook, otherwise called John Widger, Jr., of

<sup>3</sup> Evidence on the gang in Kent is found in S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1760-1769, R-S; C. & M. V, 147-148, 175-181; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XII, pp. 26-27.

Groton, was indicted for having passed in Saybrook on May 30 to Elkanah Doan two counterfeit coins, one a Spanish pistareen and the other the eighth part of a Spanish milled dollar. Widger pleaded not guilty, was tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £50 and costs of prosecution.<sup>4</sup>

*Joseph Holmes*

Joseph Holmes of Hatfield in Hampshire County, Massachusetts, was indicted at the Superior Court in Hartford on September 1, 1761, for having on August 29 at Middletown passed off five counterfeit Spanish milled dollars, one to Samuel Starr, one to Thomas Danforth, one to Matthew Talcott and two to Abigail Shayler. He pleaded guilty and was sentenced to have his right ear cut off, to be given twenty-five lashes on the naked body and to pay costs of £14/9/9.<sup>5</sup>

*Henry Vorse*

Moses Tracy of Norwich on January 1, 1761, complained to Justice Ebenezer Backus against Henry Vorse of Norwich. Tracy charged that on December 30, 1760, at Norwich Vorse passed a false Spanish dollar to Jared Tracy. Joshua Abell, Jr., on January 2 arrested Vorse and brought him before Justice Backus, who examined him and bound him over to the Superior Court to be held in New London in March. Bail of £50 was furnished by Lemuel Vorse, Henry's brother, and William Whiting, Jr. Henry did not appear in court and his bond was declared forfeited.

Whiting, on May 20, 1762, sent to the Assembly a memorial in which he stated that he had been a soldier in the present war. He explained that Henry Vorse had gone to Albany and on the way back to Norwich had been taken sick and for that reason had not appeared in court. Henry and Lemuel Vorse had no money and if he, Whiting, had to pay the whole bond it would ruin him. The Assembly resolved

<sup>4</sup> S.C. Files, New London, Sept., 1760; S.C. Records 14, Sept., 1760.

<sup>5</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1761; S.C. Records 14, Sept. 1, 1761.

that the bond be reduced to £20 if that amount and costs were paid. A year later Whiting again petitioned, this time claiming that he had given the original bond through inadvertency and want of consideration and asking permission to give a bond for £20 and to have time to pay, a request which was denied by the Assembly.<sup>6</sup>

An alert printer in Boston spared the Colony of Connecticut possible difficulties. In June, 1762, a man who called himself Giles Wolcott of Windsor or Hartford and claimed to be a grandson of Governor Wolcott applied to a printer in Boston to purchase a number of printing types, but the printer, being suspicious, reported the matter to the proper authorities, who, upon examination, found that "Wolcott" intended to counterfeit some of the bills of Connecticut, particularly the 40s. denomination. He was then committed to jail.<sup>7</sup>

The *Boston News-Letter*, and the *New-England Chronicle* of March 10, 1763, under the heading of New London, February 18, printed two items concerned with counterfeiting, taken apparently from the *New-London Summary* of February 18:

Last Tuesday a young Woman was committed to Goal in this Town for counterfeiting and passing a 40s. and a 10s. Bill of this Colony, the former was altered with a Pen from a 5s. Bill, and the latter from a 1s. Bill.

Yesterday a Man lately from Long Island, was taken into Custody on Suspicion of counterfeiting a Quantity of small Pieces of Silver.

The young woman may be identified as Grace Edgcomb, a poor person of New London, who on February 12, 1763, was brought before Daniel Coit, J.P., of New London. She was charged with uttering a counterfeit 40s. bill of Connecticut of the emission of March 26, 1761. The magistrate bound her over to appear at the Superior Court to be held at Norwich in March, 1763, and she was released on bail of £50 furnished by Robert Douglass and Daniel Reynolds. At the time for her trial she came down with smallpox, and

<sup>6</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1761; C. & M., V, 194; C. & M. Counterfeiting (unbound) III, 132-136; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XII, p. 52.

<sup>7</sup> *Boston News-Letter and New-England Chronicle*, June 24, 1762, p. 2, *New-London Summary*, July 2, 1762, p. 3.



the selectmen of New London removed her to a place provided for that purpose. As she could not appear in court, her bond was declared forfeited and judgment was given against her sureties, who in 1764 appealed in vain to the Assembly for relief.<sup>8</sup>

It is probable that the young man taken up in New London in February for counterfeiting small pieces of silver was David Howell of Lyme, who on March 22, 1763, was informed against by Matthew Griswold, King's Attorney. The charge was that on February 14, 1763, he uttered to Samuel Belden of New London two Spanish bits and to Jesse Minor of New London another such counterfeit piece. Howell pleaded guilty and was sentenced to pay a fine of £40 and costs amounting to £5/3/6.<sup>9</sup>

#### *Counterfeiters in Hebron*

In March, 1763, several persons were arrested in Hebron on suspicion of counterfeiting and passing. Aaron Baxter of Hebron was taken up and bound over to the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in September and he was released on bail furnished by himself and Simon Baxter, probably his brother, of Hartford. He was indicted for having, at Hebron about April 20, 1762, counterfeited twenty silver milled quarters of dollars and having on April 30 passed six of them.<sup>10</sup>

Simeon Stow of Middletown was indicted at the Superior Court held in Hartford in March, 1763, for having counterfeited at Hebron about April 10, 1762, eight quarters of dollars and having, about April 20 in Hebron, passed three of them to different persons. He was tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £50 and costs.<sup>11</sup>

Likewise under suspicion was Nathan Baxter of Hebron, who was arrested in March, 1763, bound over to the Superior Court held that

<sup>8</sup> C. & M. V, 206.

<sup>9</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1763; S.C. Records 15, March 22, 1763.

<sup>10</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1763.

<sup>11</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, March, 1763; S.C. Records 14, March 1, 1763.

month in Hartford and indicted for having, on April 30, 1762, in Hebron, made ten false quarters of dollars out of pewter, copper and other mixed and base metals and having on the same day passed six of them. He was tried, acquitted and ordered dismissed on payment of costs of £22/2/1. Since he had no money, he was in April, 1764, bound out in service to his brother, Simon Baxter, for the term of two years to pay for the costs. A year later he petitioned the Assembly, pointing out that he had served his brother in Hartford for a year, that he had a wife and two small children in Hebron and that he was very infirm and subject to fits. He requested that some part of the costs be forgiven him but his prayer was denied by the Assembly.<sup>12</sup>

It appears that Nathan Baxter, probably at his examination, cast suspicion upon Captain Samuel Gilbert, who was arrested on March 15, 1763, and brought before Alexander Phelps, J.P. and again before the same magistrate on March 21. He was bound over to the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in September and was released on bail of £6,000 furnished by himself, Thomas Perrin, Ebenezer Deucey, Seth Hall and Ebenezer Horton. He was charged with having about March 30, 1762, uttered to Aaron Baxter a false 20s. Connecticut bill of the emission of 1755 but his indictment was returned ignoramus by the grand jury and it was ordered that he be released on payment of costs of £26/6/4. Gilbert was indignant and in October he petitioned the Assembly that he be freed from paying costs. His contention was that there was no evidence against him save what was said by Baxter, whom he called a person "of the vilest character," that it was contrary to the practice of the mother country to impose costs on those acquitted, and that, if there were no indictment and trial, there should be no cost levied against him. The upper house denied his request and the lower house granted it, so that a committee was appointed to confer, and this group reached no decision in his favor.<sup>13</sup>

It developed that Baxter's testimony was false and had been supported by the evidence of Hosea Curtis of Hebron, who was twice

<sup>12</sup> C. & M. V, 234-236; S.C. Records 14, March 1, 1763.

<sup>13</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1763; C. & M. V, 201, 203-205.

brought before the authorities for questioning. Rather than face the prospect of being committed to jail, Curtis decided to lie about Squire Gilbert, so he informed Justices Phelps, Talcott and others that Gilbert had taken him into a room and showed him a large quantity of counterfeit bills, which Gilbert said he had obtained from Joseph Bill, the famous money maker. Then, he said, Gilbert induced him to join in the business and fetch money from him. Later Curtis' conscience induced him to make a confession of his lying before the public congregation in the First Society in Hebron and he signed a confession which he desired to be read in all the parishes in that town and before the Superior Court in Hartford. Justice Alexander Phelps testified that he had bound over Gilbert only because of the evidence of Curtis and Baxter, notwithstanding their "very bad" character as far as the truth was concerned. Captain Gilbert, armed with such evidence, memorialized the Assembly, which in October, 1769, fully released him from the costs which had been taxed against him.<sup>14</sup>

*An altered Connecticut bill*

Timothy Upson of Farmington on May 25, 1763, delivered to Justice Joseph Hopkins in Waterbury a 40s. Connecticut bill of the emission of March 4, 1762, which had had the date altered. Hopkins examined various persons but was unsuccessful in his attempt to discover the alterer of the bill.<sup>15</sup>

*Jonathan Olds*

On January 27, 1763, Samuel Pettibone, King's Attorney of Litchfield County, complained to Justice John Patterson against Jonathan Olds of Egrimont Parish in Sheffield, Berkshire County, Massachusetts. He charged that at Cornwall on January 25 Olds made thirty Spanish dollars and the following day passed one of

<sup>14</sup> C. & M. V. 316-321; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, p. 263.

<sup>15</sup> C. & M. V. 191-193.

them to Hopedill Pierce, wife of Lieutenant Joshua Pierce of Cornwall, another to the wife of Jeremiah Griswold of Litchfield and a third to some person in Sharon. John Pierce, Constable of Cornwall, arrested Olds on January 27 and the prisoner was examined and bound over in bail of £100 to the August term of the Superior Court in Litchfield. Olds pleaded guilty and was sentenced to be whipped thirty lashes and to pay costs of £20/8-. Sheriff Oliver Wolcott had him whipped at the sign post in Litchfield and then sent back to jail, doubtless because the costs were not paid.<sup>16</sup>

*Three Alterers of Connecticut Bills*

Ebenezer Marsh on July 26, 1763, complained to Justice Timothy Collins of Litchfield that a stranger, supposed to be between twenty and thirty years of age, of a light complexion and reddish beard, with a light colored coat and black neckcloth, had that day passed to him, Marsh, a Connecticut 1s. bill of the emission of March 26, 1761, which had been altered to 20s. A warrant was issued, and the stranger, Elisha Arnold of Norwalk, was bound over in bail of £500 to the August term of the Superior Court in Litchfield and committed to jail for want of bondsmen. He pleaded guilty and was sentenced in accordance with law. At the sign post in Litchfield on August 20 his right ear was cut off and he was branded on the forehead with C. From the jail in Litchfield in January, 1764, he sent a petition to the Assembly, stating that he was young and had been persuaded to commit his crime by an older person. He requested that he be released from prison and allowed to pay the costs of his case by being assigned to service, a prayer which the Assembly rejected.<sup>17</sup>

Late in 1763 John Silliman of Fairfield was informed against by David Lyon of that town to Andrew Burr, J.P. Silliman was charged with altering two 10s. Connecticut bills of the emission of March 26,

<sup>16</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1760-1769, R-S; S.C. Records 15, Aug. 16, 1763 (where the number of stripes is given as 20 instead of 30).

<sup>17</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1760-1769, R-S; S.C. Records 15, Aug. 16, 1763; C. & M. V, 209.

1761, one raised to 40s. and the other to 20s., and with passing them both, probably to William Hawley of Redding and Asa Blodget of Salisbury. Justice Burr bound the prisoner over to the Superior Court to be held at Fairfield in February, 1764, and Silliman was released on bail of £100, which was provided by John and Daniel Silliman and Nathaniel Wilson, Jr. John's story, which is perhaps to be taken with more than a grain of salt, was that he did not know that one of the bills had been altered, and that the other had been paid him in August by a stranger for some store goods. He discovered that the stranger was Elisha Arnold, who was convicted and jailed in Litchfield for his counterfeiting. John Silliman and Andrew Patchen, who had seen the stranger, went to Litchfield, where Patchen recognized Arnold. Arnold admitted to Patchen in the presence of a fellow prisoner, Phebe Elderkin, that he had altered and passed the bill. Silliman, however, explained that he could not secure Phebe's testimony, since she was in prison. When the grand jury returned his indictment *billa vera*, he was greatly frightened and decamped, so that his bond was declared forfeited. The Assembly turned a deaf ear to a plea for relief from payment of the bond which was made by Silliman and his two sureties in October, 1764.<sup>18</sup>

The *Connecticut Gazette* of January 7, 1764, published in New Haven, had the following to report on counterfeiting:

Several Counterfeit Bills of this Colony have of late been observed to pass; — — — They are chiefly Thirty Shilling Bills, altered from One Shilling Bills of March 1762 — Emission but they are done after such a bungling Manner, that the Cheat is very easily discovered.

One Day last Week, a Person in Killingsworth, was taken up on Suspicion of altering some of the Bills, of this Colony; 'tis said he is admitted to Bail, till the Time for his Tryal comes on.

The person arrested in Killingsworth was Abel Buel. His father was dead and Abel, who was still a minor, was under the guardianship of John Spencer of Killingsworth. Abel had learned the trade of silversmith as apprentice to Ebenezer Chittenden, had married and was

<sup>18</sup> C. & M. V, 214; S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1760-1769, She-Sun.

desirous of setting up in business for himself. To this end he had his guardian purchase for him a house and nine rods of land "conveniently situated for a silversmith" on the post road. Spencer also advanced money toward finishing the house and erecting a shop and for the support of Abel's family and workmen. It was agreed that when Abel was of age he would execute a deed for enough of his estate to repay Spencer. The need for money in December, 1763, induced the young man to try his hand at counterfeiting by altering four Connecticut 2/6 bills to 30s. each and passing them, one to Zephaniah Clark. Constable Niel Buel discovered the crime and on December 29, 1763, complained against Abel to Justice Benjamin Gale. Abel was taken up, examined on December 31 and bound over in bail of £400 to the Superior Court to be held at New London in March, 1764. The bond was furnished by Abel, his guardian and his former master, Ebenezer Chittenden. At the Superior Court he was indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>19</sup>

In May, 1764, Abel, then in the jail in New London in close prison, petitioned the Assembly. He set forth that he had no means of support, was out of health and in danger of perishing, whereupon the Assembly resolved that he be released if he procured bail of £100 conditioned on his being of good behavior and not departing out of the limits of the town of Killingworth without the special licence of the Assembly.<sup>20</sup> At the same time the legislators appointed Matthew Griswold to sell Buel's estate. From the proceeds he was to pay the costs of Abel's prosecution, reimburse the holders of bills which Abel had altered, and turn the residue over to the public treasury.<sup>21</sup> A committee was also appointed to clear up a claim of John Spencer against Abel's estate, and the report of the committee was made and action was taken on it.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1764; C. & M. Counterfeiting (unbound) III, 32-34; S.C. Records 15, March 27, 1764; *Connecticut Gazette*, April 14, 1764, p. 2, *New-London Gazette*, Dec. 30, 1763, p. 3 and April 6, 1764, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* XII, p. 288.

<sup>21</sup> C. & M. V, 243; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XII, p. 354.

<sup>22</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* XII, pp. 288, 379-380.

Abel, who had been in jail since April 6, was released on July 21, 1764. Encouraged by the success of his plea to the Assembly, in October, 1765, he sent another memorial to that body. He pointed out that he was under many disadvantages because he was confined to the limits of Killingworth and that he might be a more useful member of society if this restriction were removed and he were permitted to trade and deal in Connecticut. His prayer this time was denied by both houses.<sup>23</sup> Undaunted by this rebuff, Abel again petitioned the Assembly in October, 1766. His memorial set forth

that from a compassionate regard and pity on his youthful follies, this Assembly did enlarge him from his prison and suffer him to follow the lawful business of his calling, in the prosecuting of which he has discovered a method of grinding and polishing chrystals and other stones of great value, all of the growth of this Colony, without the aid and assistance of any person skilled in that art, by which discovery a great saving and advantage will accrue to this Colony; praying that in consequence of such discovery he might be released from the punishments by law enjoined, and that he might be restored to those liberties and privileges which he had justly forfeited.

The Assembly was impressed and granted his request on condition that he give bond with sufficient sureties in the amount of £200 that he be of peaceable and good behavior and so not offend in like manner against the laws of the colony.<sup>24</sup>

#### *Joseph Williams and John Davenport*

Phineas Parmelee of Durham on March 27, 1764, complained to Elihu Chauncey, J.P., that Joseph Williams, alias John Winter, and John Davenport, transient persons, then resident in Durham, had within the past three months counterfeited and uttered Spanish cobs and other foreign coin. Parmelee charged especially that about March 26 in New Haven at Dr. Munson's dwelling they had passed a

<sup>23</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1764; C. & M. V, 244.

<sup>24</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* XII, p. 527.

false cob to Mary Standley of New Haven and also at Guilford had passed to David Norton and his wife, Submit, a false half cob piece. Captain Elnathan Chauncey, Constable of Durham, arrested Williams and Davenport and found in their possession one false half cob piece. Williams threw various other counterfeit half cobs out of the window of his house, and in the shop the constable discovered a leaden mold. In William's pocket the officer found a pocketbook, in which were a vial of quicksilver, some aqua fortis, materials for making money and some letters and journals. The prisoners were bound over, Williams in £200 and Davenport in £100, to appear at the August term of the Superior Court in New Haven and for want of bondsmen they were committed to jail on March 29.<sup>25</sup>

*Gilbert Belcher*

The *Massachusetts Gazette. And Boston News-Letter* of October 4, 1764, printed the following brief notice from Newport, dated September 24: "We hear that several Persons have lately been detected at Woodstock (in the Colony of Connecticut) in passing Counterfeit Silver Money." Perhaps the item was inspired by the indictment at the Superior Court at Windham on September 18 of Gilbert Belcher of Hebron. Belcher had been arrested by Hezekiah Smith and examined by Jonathan Trumble, who bound over the prisoner in £150 to the Superior Court to be held at Windham. There he was indicted for having made in Killingly on July 15 six Mexican cobs and passed them. He was tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £50 and full costs of prosecution amounting to £28/11/1.<sup>26</sup>

Belcher was a silversmith "of an unsocial, refractory disposition," as he later said of himself. Soon after his conviction he went to live at Great Barrington in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, where he secretly engaged in "coining and counterfeiting."

Some light is thrown upon Belcher's activities by the examination

<sup>25</sup> S.C. Files, New Haven, Aug., 1764.

<sup>26</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, Sept., 1764; S.C. Records 15, Sept. 18, 1764.



of Levi Colvin of Scituate, taken on October 6, 1772, by Stephen Hopkins and Jabez Bowen in Providence County, Rhode Island, and preserved among the files of the Superior Court for the year 1773. Colvin told how in June, 1772, Phillip Aylesworth, Jr., of Scituate and Benjamin Lumbarb informed him that they could obtain false money by giving one good dollar for two counterfeit ones. Their source of supply turned out to be Gilbert Belcher of Great Barrington, whom they visited and from whom bogus New Jersey bills and some forty counterfeit half Joes were obtained. Belcher boasted to Colvin that he could make half Josephuses, dollars, and New York and New Jersey bills. The Rhode Islanders paid Belcher for his spurious money in cash and horses. He was arrested toward the end of November, 1772, was jailed with other money makers in Albany and was convicted by a Court of Oyer and Terminer. He was sentenced to death and died on the gallows.<sup>27</sup>

*Joseph Parsons and Richard Booge*

Two transients, Joseph Parsons and Richard Booge, at the home of Dr. Simeon Smith of Sharon on December 26, 1764, passed to the doctor a counterfeit Spanish quarter of a dollar. Constable Elnathan Goodrich was notified and he complained against them to Justice John Williams. They were taken up, examined on December 27 and bound over, each in £40, to the Superior Court to be held in Litchfield in September, 1765. Booge was released on bail furnished by himself, Jonathan Gilbert and Solomon Goodrich, while Parsons, who could find no bondsmen, was committed to jail. King's Attorney Marvin declared that he would no further prosecute Booge, and probably Parsons' case was also dropped.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, pp. 155, 157, 159, 160, 163, 164, 167, 168, 173.

<sup>28</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, Aug., 1765; S.C. Files, Windham, Sept., 1765.

## XI

### THE YEARS 1765-1770

#### *Peletiah and Caleb Turner, Jr., and Ichabod Hill*

Peletiah Turner of Hartford on August 29, 1765, was complained of to Justice John Ledyard for having counterfeited some eighteenpenny pieces (quarters of dollars) and uttered one of them. He was apprehended, examined and bound over to appear at the Superior Court to be held at Hartford in September, 1765. Because of the sickness of his mother and his child the case was continued to March, 1766, and Turner was released on bail of £60 furnished by himself and his father, Caleb.

As Peletiah was a seafaring man and his necessities were pressing, he applied to Captain Thomas Seymour, the King's Attorney, to learn whether the courts would do any business at all on account of the Stamp Act. Since the opinion was that no business would be done, Peletiah went off to sea. Criminal cases, however, were heard, and he was solemnly called three times at the court but was away on a voyage, so that his bond was declared forfeited. In October, 1768, his father petitioned the Assembly for relief, pointing out that the payment of the bond would take the whole of his estate, and got the bond chancered down to £20, for which Caleb gave a bond to be paid with interest in two years. On October 12, 1770, however, he asked for further relief, claiming that his son could not pay and that he, Caleb, was advanced in years and ill able to furnish the money which was now due. This time, however, he seems to have obtained no further favors from the legislators.<sup>1</sup>

Caleb Turner, Jr., of Hartford, doubtless Peletiah's brother, on

<sup>1</sup> S.C. Records 16, first Tuesday in March, 1766; C. & M. V, 322; Col. Rec. Conn. XIII, p. 110; C. & M. Counterfeiting (unbound) III, 130-131.

August 30, 1765, was complained of to Justice Ledyard for having, on the previous day, passed to Caleb Bull in Hartford a counterfeit Spanish coin known as an eighteenpenny piece. Young Turner was arrested by John Skinner, Jr., a sheriff's deputy, examined, bound over to appear at the September term of the Superior Court in Hartford and released on bail of £100 furnished by Caleb Turner, Jr., and Caleb Turner, Sr. King's Attorney Seymour, however, decided not to prosecute the case, so that it was dropped.<sup>2</sup>

Another case which Seymour refused to prosecute was that of Ichabod Hill, described as a transient person residing at Colebrook in Litchfield County. John Chester, assistant, issued a warrant on the information from Seymour that Hill on July 30 at Hartford had coined twenty Spanish milled dollars, and Jonathan Humphry, a sheriff's deputy, arrested Hill on August 31, when he was bound over in bail of £100 to appear at the September term of the Superior Court. Doubtless Seymour's decision not to prosecute the case further was due to a lack of sufficient evidence.<sup>3</sup>

*James McWethy, Jr.*

James McWethy (or Macwethy), Jr., of Preston was taken up and examined on September 16, 1765, by Samuel Coit, J.P., on a charge of having passed a 20s. Connecticut bill of the emission of May 12, 1763, altered to 40s. He was bound over to the next term of the Superior Court to be held in New London and was released on bail of £100 furnished jointly by McWethy and his father. He failed to appear in court, and his bond was declared forfeited. On October 3, 1766, his father sent a petition to the Assembly, pointing out that he had but a small estate, was advanced in years and was in poor health. To pay the £100 would take all that he had and leave him and his small family in a deplorable condition. His request for relief, however, was flatly rejected.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1765.

<sup>3</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1765.

<sup>4</sup> C. & M. V, 249.

*John Toneray*

At the Superior Court held at Windham in March, 1766, John Toneray, a transient person, late resident of Canterbury in Windham County, was indicted for passing two false Spanish milled dollars to Timothy Backus and one such coin to Ezra Smith. Toneray pleaded not guilty but was tried, convicted and sentenced to be whipped thirty-nine stripes and to pay full costs of prosecution. Later he worked at counterfeiting with Samuel Casey and his associates.<sup>5</sup>

*Joseph Butler*

Constable Joseph Tracy of Norwich on May 7, 1766, arrested Joseph Butler, a transient, on the charge that he had, about May 1, made a false dollar. The prisoner was examined by Simon Tracy, J.P., who bound him over in £100 to appear at the Superior Court to be held in New London in September. Samuel Huntington, the King's Attorney, however, decided not to prosecute the case.<sup>6</sup>

*Hubbard Brown*

George Sawin, Jr., on July 7, 1766, complained to Abner Barker, J.P., of Willington that on July 2 one Thomas Fosdick, alias Hubbard Brown, a transient, had passed a 1s. Connecticut bill of the emission of March 4, 1764, altered to 40s., to Paul Simons of Willington. A warrant was issued by Shubael Conant, assistant, and the suspect was taken up by Benjamin Lathrop, a sheriff's deputy, while Paul and Mary Simons were summoned as witnesses. Justice Barker bound over the prisoner, who was Hubbard Brown, a minor and the only son of Edward Brown of Windham, to appear at the Superior Court to be held in Hartford. Edward Brown furnished a bond of £300 and Hubbard was released. At the appointed time the youth did not

<sup>5</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1766; S.C. Records 16, March 18, 1766; Kenneth Scott, *Numisma* IV (1954), pp. 35-40.

<sup>6</sup> S.C. Files, New London, Sept., 1766.

appear and the bond was declared forfeited. In May, 1769, his father petitioned the Assembly, showing that his estate consisted of a small house and garden, not worth one half the bond, and asking that the bond be reduced. The Assembly ordered that the bond be chancered down to £10, which sum, together with all costs that had arisen, was to be paid.<sup>7</sup>

### *Simeon Scripture*

On November 14, 1766, two complaints against Simeon Scripture of Coventry were made to Justice Samuel Gray. Jonathan Huntington, a grand juror, charged that on November 10 Scripture passed a false dollar to Mercy Fitch, innholder (who before September, 1767, married Eleazer Carey of Windham), while Joseph Estabrooks complained that Scripture had uttered a bad dollar to Amariah Storrs of Mansfield. A warrant was issued and the accused was arrested and examined by Justice Gray, who bound him over to the next term of the Superior Court to be held in Windham, setting bail for the first charge at £100 and for the second at £200. As no bondsmen were found, Scripture was committed to jail. In his possession was found a slip of paper on which were listed the following items presumably used by him for counterfeiting coin: "3 ll of cristel asneck, 3 ll sol Nitire or sault peter, 3 ll of Red tarture or wine stone, 3 ll of Salamoneck, 1 ll of sand over, 2 oz markury sublemate, 2 oz Boriks, 3 Nests Crusabls." Scripture was indicted in September, 1767, but his case was apparently continued, for in September, 1769, he was tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £60 and costs of £31/2/-.<sup>8</sup>

### *Jeremiah Phelps, Phineas Granger and Timothy Burbank*

The *Connecticut Gazette* of July 4, 1767, published a caution about counterfeit dollars and in its next issue, a week later, reprinted from

<sup>7</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1766; C. & M. V, 299-300; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, pp. 413-414.

<sup>8</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, Sept., 1767; S.C. Records 16, Sept. 15, 1769.

the New York newspapers a detailed description of the false coins.<sup>9</sup> Another paper, the *Connecticut Courant*, printed in Hartford, on August 10, 1767, reported some arrests for the counterfeiting of dollars. The item read:

Last Week a Person was committed to the Goal in this Town, on Suspicion of counterfeiting Mill'd Dollars; and two other Persons taken up on the like Suspicion procured Bonds, for their Appearance at Court; and another Person has been committed to Springfield Goal, on the same Account, So that if these Money Makers could procure a Currency that necessary Article, which is now so much wanted among us, would be very plenty; --- But many of their Dollars are made in so bungling a Manner, that any Person who has ever seen a Dollar, may very easily discover the Cheat.

Two individuals arrested, probably in August, for having coined dollars were Jeremiah Phelps and Phineas Granger. It was charged that Phelps, a transient person, about July at Windsor made 100 dollars and afterwards at Suffield, Windsor and elsewhere uttered to Abel Forster and others more than ten of these pieces. At the same time Granger was charged with having made at Windsor in July more than 100 Spanish dollars and with having afterwards at Suffield about July 10 passed more than twenty coins to Timothy Burbank of Suffield and others. The grand jury at the September, 1767, term of the Superior Court at Hartford returned Granger's indictment ignoramus and very likely did the same with Phelps's. It appears that Granger could not pay his costs, for he was confined in jail with Burbank.<sup>10</sup>

In August, 1767, Isaac Bidwell of Farmington discovered that Timothy Burbank, who first lived in Suffield and later in Springfield, had lately passed a counterfeit dollar to Daniel Hosford in Hartford. Bidwell, also hearing that Burbank had a number of counterfeit Spanish dollars, went to Hartford, found him there and notified the King's Attorney. Burbank was apprehended and on him were found

<sup>9</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, p. 128.

<sup>10</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1767.

many base dollars and materials, such as copper and arsenic, for making more. In September he was indicted at the Superior Court at Hartford for having on July 31 at that town uttered to Experience (her name is elsewhere given as Hannah) Hinsdale, wife of Amos Hinsdale of Hartford, to Sarah Stilman, Elijah Wright and Abigail Griswold, all three of Wethersfield, and to one other person, each a bad Spanish dollar. He pleaded not guilty, was tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £40 and costs of about £20.<sup>11</sup>

Burbank did not pay his fine and costs, so he was remanded to jail, from which, on the night of September 29, with aid from persons outside, he escaped along with two burglars, a debtor and Phineas Granger. Sheriff Williams offered a reward of forty shillings for the capture of Granger and of ten shillings for the taking of Burbank, who had fled to Springfield and parts adjacent.<sup>12</sup> Abiel Abbott of Windsor went to Springfield and there hired men and instituted a vain search for the fugitive, who was, as it turned out, eventually retaken by Eliphalet Dyer.<sup>13</sup> The informer was voted a reward of £4, which amount the Assembly in October, 1769, refused to increase as Bidwell had requested.<sup>14</sup>

### *Gangs of Coiners in 1767 and 1768*

A memorial submitted to the Assembly in January, 1769, by Isaac Colton of Springfield is important for the information it gives of widespread coining carried on by gangs in 1767 and 1768 and of one attempt to break them up. His petition shows.

That in the year 1767 and forepart of the year 1768, it was very generally suspected that there were numbers of Persons in the Provinces of New York New Hampshire Massachusetts Bay Rhode Island and in this Colony who

<sup>11</sup> C. & M. V, 255–257; S.C. Records 16, Sept. 1, 1767; S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1767.

<sup>12</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, Oct. 5, 1767, p. 3; C. & M. V, 252–254.

<sup>13</sup> C. & M. V, 252–254; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, p. 53; S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1767.

<sup>14</sup> C. & M. V, 255; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, pp. 53–54.

were Combined together and actually carried on in Parties and Gangs, here and there, the wicked and detestable Practice of Counterfeiting and uttering many Different sorts of foreign Coins the most passable within the said several Provinces to the great wrong of the Community in general as well as the open Violation of the Laws of the Land—and as these Evils seemed more & more to increase and of Course the more threatening, they soon became the object of publick Notice and attention—To Remedy and prevent which your Memorialist was pitched upon and furnished with proper Credentials Warrants & authority from the Governors of the several Provinces and Colonies afores<sup>d</sup> and other the Civil authority within the same to goe in Quest of Discover & apprehend such Evil offenders in order to their being brot to Justice, and also Search out pursue break up and drive from their Lurking Places such wicked Combinations and Parties as aforesaid, that no further impositions might be made by such false and base Coins as aforesd.

About January, 1768, Colton set about the task and devoted himself to it for a year. At great peril and risk of his life he took and brought several different offenders to punishment and drove off and dispersed others to distant points. He had taken no person in Connecticut but had saved that colony a considerable sum in the prosecution of a person convicted of uttering false coins there. He asked for a reward but the committee appointed by the Assembly to investigate his claim reported that he had received about £60 from three of the other governments; they therefore somewhat smugly recommended no grant, since any further reward, in their opinion, should be paid by those who had first employed him.<sup>15</sup>

One such gang in Connecticut consisted of six members, William Severs of Colerain, Michael and Samuel Falshaw, Barkiah Cady, Ebenezer Covell and Jonathan Herrington, all of Killingly, and they were prosecuted by Elisha Paine, King's Attorney of Windham County. At the Superior Court held at Windham in March, 1768, they were indicted, each for having about December 30, 1767, made thirty-one pistareens and passed two of them. The accused in March

<sup>15</sup> C. & M. V, 297-298.



signed a confession of guilt.<sup>16</sup> The *Connecticut Courant* of April 25, 1768, reported the affair as follows:

A Correspondent at Windham sends us the following Intelligence—  
 “Six persons have been convicted here of coining Money, namely Michael Falshaw, William Sever, Ebenezer Covell, Barkiah Cady, Jonathan Herrington, and Samuel Falshaw. The two first were punished with thirty Lashes, and sold to pay Charges.—Covell, Cady and Herrington, received twenty Lashes each, and paid Costs. Samuel Falshaw was fined Sixty Pounds, besides Charges, and is to serve four Years to pay the same.

The costs were between £1 and £12 each for Cady, Covell, Herrington and Samuel Falshaw; for Michael Falshaw they were £17/16/3 and for Severs £19/14/3.<sup>17</sup>

### *The Fairfield County Gang*

Early in February, 1768, a band of counterfeiters was detected in Fairfield County. Abel Prindle of Newtown on February 9 complained to Justice Richard Fairman against William Imus of New Milford and Nathaniel Bunnell of Woodbury, charging that in October, 1767, they had in their possession a stamp or types for making 40s. New York bills and that about October they struck off such notes at Stratford. Prindle also complained on February 12 to Justice Ebenezer Silliman that Daniel Sturges, 3rd, of Fairfield had procured to be made a copper plate for striking 40s. bills of Connecticut.

At his examination Imus made a full confession. He was accepted as King's Witness and therefore was not prosecuted, so that Prindle lost the £10 reward for which he had hoped and for which he petitioned the Assembly in vain.<sup>18</sup> With the other two men Prindle was more fortunate. Bunnell was bound over to the Superior Court to be held at Fairfield in February and at it he was indicted for having on

<sup>16</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1768; S.C. Records 16, March 15, 1768. Ann Severs, William's wife, on March 9 secured a testimonial to her husband's good character signed by the selectmen of Colerain and the elders of the Presbyterian Church.

<sup>17</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1768.

<sup>18</sup> S.C. Files, New Haven, 1768; C. & M. V., 267.

December 10, 1767, made a copper plate for forging 40s. bills of Connecticut and another plate for the 40s. bills of New York and also for having counselled Imus to forge many such paper notes. He was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law, while the reward of £10 was given to Prindle.<sup>19</sup>

Sturges was also bound over to the February term of the Superior Court and was released on bail of £500 furnished by himself and his father. He was indicted for having forged a copper plate for making 40s. Connecticut bills and for having uttered some such bills and also counterfeit 40s. New York bills, as well as for having made twenty Spanish milled dollars of pewter and other mixed metals. "Fearing and dreading the consequences," Sturges did not appear when he was called, and his bond was declared forfeited.<sup>20</sup> On April 17 Daniel Sturges and his father petitioned the Assembly, showing that payment of the forfeited bond would reduce them to beggary. Daniel's story was that he had been induced by evil-minded persons to contribute towards the purchase of plates to make Connecticut bills; before they were done, however, he had repented of his wickedness and had had nothing more to do with the scheme. As for two counterfeit 40s. New York bills which he had had, he stated that he had sold two hundred weight of flax at 6*d.* a pound to Archibald Phippenny, who had given him the bills as part payment. Sturges was suspicious of them but Phippenny told him to show them to neighbors and that he would take them back if they proved to be bad. So Daniel showed them to Peter Sturges and, on his advice, took them to Increase Bradley, who traded to New York. Bradley pronounced them counterfeits and Daniel set out to return them to Phippenny but was hindered by a rainstorm and then fell ill. When he heard of Phippenny's arrest, he burnt the false money. The Assembly was apparently moved by this story, for it voted that the bond be chancered down to £100,

<sup>19</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1760-1769, A-C; S.C. Files, New Haven, 1768.

<sup>20</sup> S.C. Files, New Haven; S.C. Records 16, Feb., 1768; C. & M. V, 291-292, 301-302. The Connecticut counterfeits were of the emission of March 4, 1762, and the New York bills of the emission of April 21, 1760 (S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1760-1769, She-Sun).

exclusive of all costs taxed against Sturges.<sup>21</sup> It developed, however, that Daniel and his father could not pay the £100 and costs, so they received permission in May, 1770, to give a bond for the money, with the understanding that the bond was to be paid with interest on June 1, 1771.<sup>22</sup>

Peter Sturges (or Sturgis) of Fairfield was also arrested and was charged with having engraved a copper plate to make 40s. bills of Connecticut and induced Phippeny to make a false bill with the plate. The grand jury, however, returned his indictment ignoramus and he was dismissed.<sup>23</sup>

Silas Camp of Newtown on February 8 informed Justice Fairman that Archibald Phippeny of Stratford had that day passed a false New York bill to Jonathan Booth, whereupon Phippeny was arrested by Constable Jabez Botsford. Phippeny was bound over in £100 to the February term of the Superior Court, to be held in Fairfield. He was indicted for having about December 10, 1767, in Stratford made a plate for striking 40s. Connecticut bills and for having, assisted by Imus, made such a bill; also for having fashioned a plate for counterfeiting 40s. New York bills and, together with Imus, made thirty-six such notes and passed a large number of them. He was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>24</sup>

Camp and Elnathan Booth of Newtown on February 8 complained to Justice Fairman that on January 28 at Redding Elnathan Hubbell Jr., of New Milford had passed a counterfeited 40s. New York bill to William Whitear and about January 28 at Newtown another such bill to Nathaniel Nichols. Fairman issued a warrant, and Peter Hurd arrested Hubbell and brought him before Ebenezer Silliman, J.P., who examined him and bound him over in £500 to the next term of the Superior Court. On February 12 bail was furnished by Hubbell

<sup>21</sup> C. & M. V, 262-266; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, p. 52.

<sup>22</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, p. 351.

<sup>23</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1760-1769, She-Sun.

<sup>24</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1760-1769, Mea-Sey; S.C. Records 16, Feb., 1768; C. & M. V, 291-292, 301-302.

and Phineas Hurd of New Milford. The Superior Court decided to use Hubbell as King's Evidence, so he escaped prosecution, and the informers against him lost their rewards.<sup>25</sup>

Another informer, Jonathan Booth of Newtown, complained to Justice Fairman that John Mallet of Stratford, son of David Mallet, about December 10, 1767, at Stratford had made thirty-six 40s. New York bills and passed some of them. John was arrested by Abel Prindle, pleaded guilty before Justice Sherman, was bound over in £1,000 to the next term of the Superior Court and was committed to jail for want of bondsmen. He was indicted and sentenced by the court in accordance with law.<sup>26</sup>

David Mallet, John's father, on May 4, 1768, petitioned the Assembly for the release of his son, who had received corporal punishment and was sentenced to prison for life. He presented evidence that about three years before John had been hit on the head with a crowbar in a sawmill and as a result had been out of his mind for a month and his understanding was impaired. John was, moreover, one who was easily imposed on, so that he had foolishly given a bond of £600 for a kinsman named Peter Mallet and was faced with the loss of all his estate to pay it. While he was melancholy over this and in great distress of mind, he had been approached by William Imus, "late of Great Britain but now of New Milford," and other counterfeiters, who told him it was not illegal to make 40s. New York bills. John had then given Imus a 40s. New York bill from which to make a plate and also £8 in New York money. Imus had struck off and signed some New York bills, of which John got thirty-six but passed none. Jailer John Camp in May sent a statement to the Assembly that John, since confinement in Fairfield, had been a faithful prisoner and a true penitent. The Assembly, moved by the plea, ordered that John be released.<sup>27</sup>

Another person who had gone surety for Peter Mallet and thus

<sup>25</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1760-1769, F-H; C. & M. V, 267-269.

<sup>26</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1760-1769, I-M; S.C. Records 16, Feb., 1768.

<sup>27</sup> C. & M. Counterfeiting (unbound) III, 62-65.

gotten into financial difficulties was Seth Porter of Stratford, the son of John Porter. Seth was, like John Mallet, tempted to extricate himself from his financial troubles by forging money. He was arrested, examined by Justice Fairman, pleaded guilty and was bound over in £1,000 to appear at the next Superior Court in Fairfield. Sheriff Hezekiah Fitch released him on a bond of £1,000 provided by John and Thomas Porter of Stratford. Seth was indicted for making thirty-six New York 40s. bills and passing some of them but he did not appear when called, so that the bond was declared forfeited and an attachment was levied on the estates of his bondsmen by the sheriff, who had been amerced £300 for his failure to produce Seth in court. On April 28, 1768, John and Thomas Porter petitioned the Assembly for relief, as did the sheriff on May 10. It was shown that Phippenny was the first mover in the scheme to counterfeit money and that Seth had merely lent Imus money for the undertaking. Seth had passed a false 40s. New York bill to John Middlebrook and another to John Turny but had bought back both bills. The Assembly resolved that Fitch be released from the amercement if he pay £225 and that the bond given by the Porters be reduced to £225 plus costs. In May, 1769, John and Thomas Porter were permitted to recover their lands, which had been seized, by giving a bond to the King's Attorney and were to have until January 1, 1770, to pay it. Perhaps the Assembly was influenced by the fact that John Porter was ensign of the trainband, had a wife and six children, three sons and three daughters, and had suffered manifold misfortunes.<sup>28</sup>

Another partner in the scheme, Lewis Bennett of Fairfield, was complained of on February 11 by John Silliman of that town to Ebenezer Silliman, J.P., who issued a writ for the arrest of Bennett. Constable Ebenezer Silliman, Jr., apprehended him, and the magistrate bound him over in £500 to the next term of the Superior Court and committed him to jail for want of bondsmen. Bennett was indicted for having made forty 40s. New York bills and passed them.

<sup>28</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1760-1769, Mea-Sey; C. & M. Counterfeiting (unbound) III, 77-79; C. & M. V, 283-290; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, pp. 66-67, 223.

was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>29</sup> The cropping and branding were promptly executed upon him and the others who were convicted and sentenced.<sup>30</sup> On May 7, 1771, he sent to the Assembly a memorial, accompanied by a statement concerning his good behavior, signed by John Camp, Jailer of Fairfield County, and another statement, signed by Selectmen John Allen and Thaddeus Burr of Fairfield, to the effect that Bennett had a wife and several small children who were very poor and to whose support the town had to contribute. He asked for release but his prayer was denied. In October 11, 1771, he again besought the legislators for release, sending with his petition a testimonial concerning his good conduct and character signed by some nineteen citizens of Fairfield. It was now voted that he be released on condition that he furnish security in the amount of £50 for his good behavior for the term of two years.<sup>31</sup>

Elisha Bradley of Fairfield was also accused of complicity in the money making venture. Constable Jabez Botsford of Newtown on February 11 complained of him to Justice Fairman, who issued a writ for his arrest. Bradley was taken up and, when examined by the magistrate, said that he was in New Milford with Phippeny and that he told Imus to make the plates but that later he broke off and had no more to do with them. He was bound over in £1,000 to the next term of the Superior Court and charged with having had made a plate for striking 40s. Connecticut bills and with having caused Phippeny to make a bill from the plate. The grand jury, however, returned his indictment ignoramus and he was dismissed.<sup>32</sup>

At the time a newspaper printed the following account of the gang and its activities:

We hear from New Milford, that a Manufacture has lately been opened there, wherein were wrought, or rather imitated, New York 40s. Bills of Currency and Spanish mill'd Dollars, to a great degree of Imperfection.—

<sup>29</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1760-1769, A-C; S. C. Records 16, Feb., 1768.

<sup>30</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, March 14, 1768, p. 2; *Connecticut Journal*, Feb. 16, 1768, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> C. & M. V, 329-333; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, pp. 553-554.

<sup>32</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1760-1769, A-C.

But that, notwithstanding the present prevailing Scarcity of Money, and loud Call for Industry, 'tis thought that Branch of Business may prove prejudicial to the Public, and therefore the Artificers already labour under great Discouragements from every Quarter, and near one Dozen of them embarrassed with a close Confinement in a distant Cage, where a Bill is prepared, upon some obvious Specimens of their Ingenuity, to assert their Title to the Royal Bounty . . . Strange! how variously Mankind distinguish themselves! no less by their Actions than Features!<sup>33</sup>

It may be noted that this gang of counterfeiters had relations with another group headed by Gideon Casey, who with his associates at this time escaped punishment in New York through a legal technicality.<sup>34</sup>

*Isaiah Butler, William Powell and Elias Wilcox*

Isaiah Butler of East Windsor was arrested on October 7 on suspicion of counterfeiting and brought before Zebulon West, J.P., who bound him over to the March term of the Superior Court to be held in Hartford. One Solomon West of Tolland furnished bail of £30 for Butler's appearance but Butler, who had no estate, left the colony and the bond was declared forfeited. West appealed in vain to have the bond chancered down.<sup>35</sup>

Nothing is known of Powell except for his arrest on suspicion of counterfeiting. Elias Wilcox of Harwinton was complained of by one of the grand jurors of Farmington for having coined an English shilling, or sixteenpenny piece, and passed it to John Wyard, an innholder of Farmington. Wilcox was indicted at the Superior Court at Hartford in September, 1768, was tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £10 and costs of about £30. It was brought out at the trial that he had boasted he could wash copper or brass buttons so as to make them appear like silver, so it would seem that he had used his skill for a more dangerous business. He could not pay the

<sup>33</sup> *Connecticut Journal*, March 18, 1768; *New-London Gazette*, March 11, 1768, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, pp. 129-133; Kenneth Scott, "Gideon Casey, Rhode Island Silversmith and Counterfeiter," *Rhode Island History* XII (1953), pp. 50-54.

<sup>35</sup> C. & M. V, 308.

fine and costs and was therefore imprisoned. On May 15, 1769, he petitioned the Assembly for relief, setting forth that he had become very poor because of illness in the family, that he had five children very dear to him, that he had an incurable lameness in one hip since youth, that his wife had been unfaithful to his bed, the results of which had put him to great charge and expense, and that she had lately left the colony and took no care of her family. The Assembly turned a deaf ear to his catalogue of woes and denied his prayer.<sup>36</sup>

*Edward Williams and Abner Burroughs*

Two residents of East Windsor were arrested in 1769 on suspicion of coining and passing. Abner Burroughs was indicted at the Superior Court at Hartford in March, 1769, for having at East Windsor on September 2, 1768, made four Spanish dollars and passed them the same day to John Young. He was tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £60 and costs of £20/16/10.<sup>37</sup> Constable David Ellsworth, Jr., of East Windsor complained to William Wolcott, J.P., apparently on March 14, 1769, that Edward Williams had counterfeited and uttered Spanish dollars. A writ was issued on December 18, 1769, for Williams' arrest and he was taken up and brought before Justice Wolcott. He confessed that he had made stamps for the dollars and he was bound over in £50 to the Superior Court to be held at Hartford in March, 1770. For some reason King's Attorney Seymour was unwilling to prosecute him, so he was dismissed.<sup>38</sup>

*A French Crown is passed in New Haven*

The *Connecticut Journal* of August 11, 1769, reported that at a shop in New Haven there had lately been taken a French crown, dated 1741. It was described as made of base metal, about two pennyweight lighter than true ones, badly coined and easily to be discovered with a little examination.

<sup>36</sup> S.C. Records 16, Sept. 14, 1768; S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1768; C. & M. V, 310.

<sup>37</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, March, 1769; S.C. Records 16, March 7, 1769.

<sup>38</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, March, 1770.



## XII

### THE PERIOD FROM 1770 TO JULY 4, 1776

#### *Amos Crittenden and Oliver Kellog*

**A**mos Crittenden of Farmington, together with a transient person named Oliver Kellog, on January 9, 1770, came to Ebenezer Hamlin of Farmington with a view to purchasing a horse. They met Hamlin again that evening at the home of a farmer, Amos Barns, where they paid Hamlin five counterfeit dollars as part of the price for the horse, which Kellog at once took away. When the fraud was discovered somewhat later, Martin Bull on January 22 complained to Solomon Whitman, J.P., who issued a warrant for the arrest of Crittenden and Kellog. Dan Hill and Ebenezer Hamlin went in pursuit of Kellog but did not take him. Crittenden, on the other hand, was apprehended, examined and bound over by Justice John Ledyard to appear at the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in March. He was released on bail of £60 provided by himself, Abraham Chittenden and Obediah Andruss, both of Farmington. The bond was declared forfeited when Crittenden failed to appear in court, and Ebenezer Hamlin was granted £5 by the Assembly to compensate him for his loss through the five false dollars.<sup>1</sup>

In New Haven the authorities on Saturday, January 27, 1770, received intelligence which caused them to believe that a scheme for coining Spanish milled dollars was being put into effect at that town. A suspected house was searched but nothing was found. On Monday, however, a house in Amity was raided and in it were discovered various articles for manufacturing dollars. The owner of the dwelling was arrested and committed to the New Haven jail for trial at the next Superior Court but it was reported that his chief accomplices had fled.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, June, 1770; C. & M. V, 335-336.

<sup>2</sup> *Connecticut Journal*, Feb. 2, 1770, p. 3; *New-London Gazette*, Feb. 16, 1770, p. 2.

*James Sturdevant*

A complaint was made on February 23, 1770, to Justice Michael Humphry that Jesse and George Tobey and James Sturdevant of Norfolk had coining instruments and were making coin. A warrant was issued and Constable Josiah Starr of New Milford apprehended Sturdevant, upon whom he found a recipe containing in fixed proportions arsenic, sublimate, sal ammoniac, salt of tartar, borax and potash, evidently to be used in coining. Sturdevant was bound over to the Superior Court to be held in Litchfield and was then released on bail of £100, furnished by Caleb Knap, Nathan Sturdevant and Jonathan Pinney, all of Norfolk. On March 19 Justice Humphry issued a search warrant but Constable Giles Pettibone could find neither coining instruments nor metal. At the Superior Court Sturdevant was indicted for having on July 20, 1769, counterfeited several Spanish dollars and pistareens and for having on October 20 in Norfolk passed one of the false dollars to Samuel Knap, Jr., of that town. He was tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £50 and costs. Apparently Jesse and George Tobey were not arrested, or, if they were, they were not bound over to the Superior Court.<sup>3</sup>

*Timothy Hitchcock*

On February 24, 1770, William Wolcott, J.P., issued a warrant for the arrest of Timothy Hitchcock of East Windsor, a minor, who was charged with making and passing Spanish dollars. Four days later he was apprehended by Constable Daniel Elsworth and bound over in £100 to appear at the March term of the Superior Court in Hartford. King's Attorney Seymour, however, was unwilling to prosecute, so that the prisoner was released.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1770-1779, P-R; S.C. Records 17, Aug. 14, 1770; the *Providence Gazette* of July 21, 1770, mentioned the arrest in Connecticut of two passers of false coins.

<sup>4</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, March, 1770.

*Altering of Bills*

The *Connecticut Courant* of March 9, 1770, and the *New-London Gazette* of the same date printed the following warning:

The Public are caution'd to beware of false Paper Money, as there are Bills passing about of several Emissions and Denominations, which have been altered from less to greater, particularly 12*d.*, Bills into 10*s.* &c. As there is a Reward of ten Pounds offered by the Government to whoever shall make Discovery, so that the Persons guilty of such Practices may be convicted, it is hoped some Person will be induced to detect the Authors of this Mischievous Villany.

*The Gang of Counterfeiters in Fairfield County*

In March and April, 1770, a considerable number of persons in Fairfield County were charged with counterfeiting. They were Thomas Howard Wagstaff, John True, John Williamson, Michael Dunning, Everet and Joshua Baker, Benjamin Wyncoop, William Stone, James and David Hait, Captain David Thayer, Nathaniel Smith, alias Biggelow, and one How, alias Biggelow. The chief malefactor was apparently John True, who boasted to Wagstaff and others that he could stamp Spanish milled dollars of base metal. Wagstaff and various persons furnished the coiner with money and materials for the illicit scheme, and True and Wagstaff struck some dollars, of which Wagstaff later claimed that he had passed none. The activity of the band attracted notice, and Abel Booth, Jabez Botsford and Ebenezer Ford of Newtown, in company with Joseph Peirce, James Masters, Samuel Squire, Justus Peirce, Abraham Peirce, Israel Stoddard and Charles Hosmer, all of Woodbury, pursued and captured Wagstaff and others, for which service the Assembly in May, 1771, voted them small rewards.<sup>5</sup>

Thomas Howard Wagstaff, who had lived in Philadelphia and had come to reside in Fairfield County, was arrested in March on a warrant

<sup>5</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, pp. 483-484.

issued by Daniel Sherman, a justice of the peace in Woodbury. After an examination before Justice Sherman he was taken by Constable Israel Stoddard of Woodbury to Justice Caleb Baldwin, who bound him over in £100 to the Superior Court to be held at Fairfield in August. Wagstaff confessed his guilt, and, as a result of his confession, various other persons and tools and implements were seized. The counterfeiters were confined in the jail of Fairfield County. On the night of May 15 Wagstaff, together with the others imprisoned for the crime of counterfeiting, broke out and escaped. Advertisements were promptly published offering rewards for the capture of the fugitives. Furthermore application was made to Joseph Crane in New York Province to apprehend Wagstaff, who was said to frequent at times the place where Crane dwelt. This appeal brought results, for on October 8 Crane captured the man and brought him back to the jail at Fairfield.

That month Wagstaff appealed to the Assembly, asserting that he was poor and friendless; friends of his wife, he said, were willing to give bond in the amount of £40 New York money for his appearance at the court to be held in Fairfield in February, in order that he might not have to endure the hardships of a winter in prison. Crane, his captor, was willing to ask for no reward or expenses in taking Wagstaff if the bail were accepted. The amount of the bond apparently was too small to be accepted, so he remained in jail until February, 1771, when he was indicted for having about February 7, 1770, made twenty quarters of dollars and passed some of them. He was tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £40 and costs of £27/6/8. He could not pay, so in May, 1771, he memorialized the Assembly for relief, setting forth that he had been imprisoned for fourteen months, that he had no means, that he was in bad health and that he had had many convulsive fits, to the truth of which Dr. John Allen made a sworn statement. His plea was denied but when it was repeated in August, 1771, the Assembly finally ordered his release on condition that he abide within the limits of the town of Fairfield.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> C. & M. V, 324-328, 339-341; S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1770-1779, Sil-Z.

Complaints were made against many suspected coiners. Constable Ebenezer Silliman, Jr., of Fairfield on March 29 charged that Everet and Joshua Baker, Benjamin Wyncoop and Michael Dunning, all of Fairfield, had uttered false dollars and, when a warrant had been issued, arrested all four, of whom Wyncoop and Dunning were committed to jail, Joshua Baker was released on bail of £100, provided by himself and Gersham Fenton, and Everet Baker was bound over in £100 to give evidence against the other three.<sup>7</sup> Dunning, it appeared, had been arrested "upon the wicked & false Information of a Scandalous vagrant fellow." When he was bound over to the August term of the Superior Court, his creditors, alarmed, stripped his wife of all his substance, and when, two weeks later, he secured bail and was released, he found his wife and fourteen children in a sad plight. Some children were weak, others were ill and they were all living on the highway without shelter. At his trial he was acquitted but could not pay the costs of £7/1/8, from payment of which the Assembly in May, 1771, mercifully freed him.<sup>8</sup> It had been charged that he had, about August 10, 1768, purchased a furnace in Norwalk and had assisted John True in making dollars.<sup>9</sup> Complaint was made that Wyncoop had induced John True to make dollars and was present and helped him when he made them.<sup>10</sup> It is probable that he broke jail along with Wagstaff.

On April 5 Constable Silliman complained that John True and Captain David Thayer had made dollars and passed them and had also made stamps and coining instruments. Two days later True was apprehended by Abel Gold, a sheriff's deputy, who found stamps for dollars in True's possession. The prisoner was bound over in £300 to the Superior Court and committed to jail for want of bondsmen. At the August term True's indictment was returned *ignoramus* by the grand jury, so that he was doubtless dismissed.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1770-1779, D-Hid, Sil-Z.

<sup>8</sup> C. & M. V, 337-338; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, p. 498.

<sup>9</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1770-1779, D-Hid.

<sup>10</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1770-1779, Sil-Z.

<sup>11</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1770-1779, D-Hid, Sil-Z.

A further group of suspected counterfeiters of coin and New Jersey bills was complained of on April 12, 1770, to Ebenezer Silliman, J.P., by Constable Nehemiah Benedict of Norwalk and Constable Ebenezer Silliman, Jr., of Fairfield. The persons accused were James and David Hait, William Stone, John Williamson and one How, alias Nathan Smith, alias Biggelow, all of Stamford. Stone, Williamson and How were arrested, while the others probably fled. Of these three How and Williamson, at least, were bound over in £100 to the Superior Court and committed to jail when no bail was furnished. Probably How escaped from jail with Wagstaff. Williamson was charged with having made about March 20, 1769, together with How, an English shilling and two Spanish dollars. The only cause for suspicion was that some years before he had lived for two months at the same place as John True, a coppersmith of bad character. The grand jury returned his indictment ignoramus and it was ordered that he be dismissed on payment of costs. Since he could not pay these, the Assembly in October, 1770, relieved him of all charges and ordered him released from jail, where he had been held since April 10.<sup>12</sup>

*Abraham Tyler*

On March 1, 1770, Abraham Tyler of Waterbury passed to Dr. Ebenezer Beardsley of that town one altered Connecticut bill and to Thomas Phillips, also of Waterbury, a bill altered from 15s. to 30. Apparently some time elapsed before either fraud was detected, for it was not until June 7 that Dr. Beardsley complained to Joseph Hopkins, J.P., and a warrant was issued for Tyler's arrest. Constable Phineas Porter apprehended the suspected counterfeiter, who was examined on June 13. Tyler claimed that he was no penman and was incapable of making alteration but he was bound over in £100 to the August term of the Superior Court to be held in New Haven and was released on a bond provided by himself and Isaac Tyler of Wallingford. His indictment was returned ignoramus by the grand jury and

<sup>12</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1770-1779, Hil-L, M-She, Sil-Z; C. & M. V, 323.

it was ordered that he be discharged on payment of costs amounting to £9/19/9. Since he did not have sufficient money to pay, he petitioned the Assembly in May, 1771, to be relieved of payment, a prayer which was denied.<sup>13</sup> As he was convicted and sentenced many years before for assisting a counterfeiter,<sup>14</sup> it may well be that he was not as innocent as he pretended to be in 1770.

*William Corning*

King's Attorney Thomas Seymour on July 13, 1770, gave information that William Corning of Hartford about July 10 made 100 Spanish dollars and at Exeter in Hartford County passed twenty of the same to William Hiams. A warrant was issued by William Pitkin, and on July 14 Corning was arrested by Constable Job Norton and bound over in £50 to the next Superior Court. He was released on bail furnished by himself and Nathan Corning. Seymour, however, later decided not to prosecute, so that the case was dropped.<sup>15</sup>

*Timothy Keys*

The grand jurors of Norfolk on September 15, 1770, informed Justice Michael Humphry that Timothy Keys of New Marlborough in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, had in Norfolk an instrument for coining dollars and that he had made dollars and other coins. A warrant was issued for the arrest of the suspected coiner but it was found that he had fled to Massachusetts. Justice John Ashley in Berkshire County also issued a writ for Keys's arrest and the Sheriff of Berkshire County pursued Keys across the line to Norfolk, where on September 17 the fugitive was captured by John Phelps. It was charged that on March 31, 1769, at Norfolk Keys had made ten false dollars and passed one of them to Reuben Stevens of Canaan. When the case came up in court, Keys pleaded that the facts alleged

<sup>13</sup> S.C. Files, New Haven, Aug., 1770; C. & M. V, 342.

<sup>14</sup> C. & M. VI, 231-232.

<sup>15</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Dec., 1771.

against him were done more than a year before the commencement of the suit and hence were barred by the statute of limitations. It was decided by the court that the plea in abatement was sufficient.<sup>16</sup>

*Coining in Hebron*

It was discovered on December 27, 1770, that coiners and passers of false dollars and half joes were active in Hebron and several suspected persons were apprehended and bound over to the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in March, 1771. They were William Cox, David Brown, John Mattoon, Elijah Houghton and Amos Fuller, Jr. Bail for each was set at £200 and bonds in that amount were furnished for Cox by himself, Captain Jedediah Post, Samuel Gilbert, Jr., and Nathan Roulee; for Houghton by himself and Stephen Houghton; for Fuller by Joel Pratt of Spencer Town in New York and Daniel Porter, Jr., of Hebron. Houghton was charged specifically with having made twenty half joes and ten dollars and having passed one dollar to Captain Benjamin Buel of Hebron and another to John Mattoon of Hebron. His indictment was, however, returned ignominus by the grand jury and it was ordered that he be dismissed on payment of costs of £20/5/7.<sup>17</sup> David Brown's indictment charged that he had passed to John Mattoon three false half joes and it was returned *billa vera* by the grand jury.<sup>18</sup>

Two others who were probably involved in the coining affair in Hebron were Edward Davis and Jeremiah Phelps, both of that town. Davis was arrested and at the September, 1771, term of the Superior Court held in Hartford was indicted for having on June 20 counterfeited two pistareens and passed them to John Mattoon in Hebron and also for having at Farmington on or about June 26 uttered a false half joe to William Stewart, a transient person. He was tried, convicted and sentenced to have his right ear cut off, to be branded with C on the forehead, to be whipped twenty stripes, to pay costs of

<sup>16</sup> S.C. Files. Litchfield, 1770-1779, P-R.

<sup>17</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Dec., 1771.

<sup>18</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1771.



£17/7/- and to be imprisoned for six months at hard labor.<sup>19</sup> It may be noted that on March 16, 1774, he was again in trouble, for he was then informed against for burglary, was arrested and committed to jail, whence he broke out and escaped in September.<sup>20</sup>

The extreme severity of the sentence in a case involving the counterfeiting of coin, which as a rule had been punished previously by a fine, is explained by the fact that in May, 1771, the Assembly had passed a new law to deal with this offense. The act read:

Be it enacted by the Governor, Council and Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That whosoever hereafter shall counterfeit or make any instrument or instruments for the counterfeiting any of the coins mentioned in the proclamation of her late Majesty Queen Anne, for ascertaining the rates of foreign coins in her Majesty's Plantations in America, or any other gold or silver coins currently passing in this Colony, or shall be aiding or assisting therein, or shall pass, utter or put off any base, false or counterfeit coin within this Colony, knowing the same to be base, false or counterfeit as aforesaid, and be thereof convicted before the Superior Court, shall have his right ear cut off, be branded in the forehead with the letter C on a hot iron, be whipped on the naked body twenty stripes, be imprisoned six months in the common goal in the county where such person shall be convicted, without bail or mainprize, and there be kept to hard labour according to the discretion of the law concerning work-houses, and be fined at the discretion of the court, and pay costs of prosecution. And if such offender or offenders shall not be able to pay such fine and costs of prosecution, said superior court is hereby authorized and fully impowered to assign such person or persons in service for satisfying the same after the expiration of said six months imprisonment.<sup>21</sup>

The other person was Jeremiah Phelps of Hebron, otherwise called Jeremiah Phelps of Sharon. Through the efforts of Oliver Hanchet information reached King's Attorney Thomas Seymour that Phelps had made 200 half joes and 200 dollars and offered to put off to one

<sup>19</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1771; S.C. Records 17, Sept., 1771.

<sup>20</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1771.

<sup>21</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, pp. 363-364.

Bryant and others forty half joes and forty dollars. Benjamin Payne, J.P., issued a warrant for the arrest of Phelps, who was taken up on December 26, 1771, by Constable James Bunce and bound over in £150 to the Superior Court to be held in Hartford. He was released on bail furnished by himself and by his brother, Silvanus Phelps of Hebron. At the Superior Court he was indicted for having at Hebron about November 10, 1770, made a die and other instruments for counterfeiting dollars, half joes and other coins, for having made 100 dollars and 100 half joes, and for having passed ten half joes to David Brown. He failed to appear in court when summoned, so that his bond was declared forfeited. The reason for his failure to appear was that four hours after his release on bail in February he was arrested through an attachment and jailed in Windham.<sup>22</sup>

*Coiners in Colchester*

Daniel Isham on March 21, 1771, complained to Justice Daniel Groot that John Newton, Jr., of Colchester had made Spanish dollars and gold coin. Newton was at once arrested and at his examination on the following day admitted that he had made molds, had cast pewter dollars in sand and had then hidden the coins in his shop. He had, he confessed, showed two of the dollar molds at his shop to Asahel Newton and Joseph Chapman. At New London, he said, he had passed a false pistareen or an English shilling to Captain Douglas, who had refused to accept it. He was bound over to the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in September and then released on bail of £200 furnished by himself and by Israel Newton of Colchester. At the Superior Court he was indicted for having about March 5 at Colchester constructed a mold for making dollars and for having cast about forty coins with it. Despite his admissions to Justice Groot he pleaded not guilty, was tried, acquitted and dismissed on payment of costs.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, March, 1772; C. & M. V, 346-348; VI, 249-255.

<sup>23</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Dec., 1771; S.C. Records 17, Sept. 3, 1771.

Isham likewise complained that Joseph Chapman, who had previously lived at Great Barrington but was then residing at Colchester had at some time after September 1, 1770, stamped dollars and passed some of them. Justice Groot issued a writ for Chapman's arrest and he was taken up on March 21 by Constable Elihu Clark of Colchester. At his examination before the magistrate he, too, talked freely and incriminated Asahel Newton. He and Asahel, he stated, had secured two molds made by John Newton in his shop and they paid John twelve shillings for one of them and borrowed the other. One evening at Asahel's house in Colchester he (Chapman) and Asahel ran several dollars out of pewter, of which he (Chapman) passed one to James Morgan, who later returned it. According to Chapman, Asahel had a chest a mold and twenty or twenty-five counterfeit dollars. Chapman was bound over to the Superior Court and released on bail of £10 provided by himself and Joseph Tubbs of Colchester, for his appearance in court in September. He failed, however, to appear and his bond was declared forfeited.<sup>24</sup>

#### *Counterfeiters in Suffield*

Sometime in August, 1771, Oliver Hanchet and John Harmon, Jr. of Suffield complained to Justices Samuel Kent and Alexander Kent against John Smith and William Hurlbutt (or Hulburd), both of Suffield. They were arrested and on them were found counterfeit New Jersey bills amounting to nearly £100. After being examined by the justices they were bound over, each in bail of £80, to the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in September, 1771. Smith was released on a bond furnished by Daniel Gillet, John Southwell, James Harmon and James Halladay, all of Suffield, and Hurlbutt on a bond provided by Ebenezer Hurlbutt, Abraham Curtiss and William Middleton, all of Suffield. Hurlbutt was indicted for having about July 31, 1771, made seventy-eight 15s. New Jersey bills of the emission of December 31, 1763, while Smith was indicted for having on October 20 made

<sup>24</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1771.

plates and instruments for counterfeiting New York and New Jersey bills; further he was indicted for having struck off 1,000 New Jersey 30s. bills dated April 16, 1764, and of New York bills of the emission of February 16, 1771, the following: one hundred £5, one hundred £1, one hundred 10s. and two hundred £10; a further indictment was for having passed to Jechonias Holcomb of Simsbury twenty counterfeit 30s. New Jersey bills. In a second indictment he was charged with having made a plate for counterfeiting 15s. New Jersey bills and for having struck off seventy-eight of them. It was also brought out that he had passed a £5 New York counterfeit to Captain Elihu Kent. Smith pleaded not guilty and moved for new bail, which was granted in the amount of £150, for which sum Messers Gillet, Southwell, Harmon and Halladay "foolishly" gave bond, for when the jury returned with a verdict of guilty, Smith had decamped and the bond was declared forfeited. The bondsmen petitioned the Assembly in October that the amount be reduced to £80 but their request was denied. Hurlbutt also failed to appear, so that his bond was declared forfeited and two of his bondsmen, Curtiss and Middleton, were jailed in Hartford. Middleton took the oath provided for poor prisoners and was released; when it was reported that Curtiss was planning to do the same but had conveyed his estate into the hands of others, the Assembly ordered an investigation. The third bondsman, Ebenezer Hurlbutt, offered to give his bond for £25 payable within one year and his proposition was accepted by the legislators. The informers, Hanchet and Harmon, received £20 as a reward.

Smith, however, was taken up again and committed to jail in Hartford but on January 27, 1772, he escaped, and Sheriff Ezekiel Williams had the following notice printed in the *Connecticut Courant* of January 28, 1772:

Broke out of the County Goal in this town, the last evening, JOHN SMITH, who came into this colony a few years since, supposed from the province of New-York, and has resided chiefly at Suffield, where he married a wife, and where, as it is supposed, his principal business has been (with sundry others) counterfeiting money, chiefly the New-Jersey and New-

York new Bills, for which he was now convicted before the honourable Supreme Court sitting in this place, but had not received his punishment, he was a likely prompt looked youngerly man, somewhat short of stature, wears his own hair . . . whoever shall take up the said John Smith, and return him to the goal from whence he escaped, shall have a reward of Six Pounds, Lawful Money . . .

Hurlbutt, after his failure to appear in court, seems to have gone free for a short time but on November 15, 1771, the King's Attorney, Thomas Seymour, issued a complaint against Hurlbutt, who was then arrested by Oliver Hanchet and taken before Justice Benjamin Payne. Hurlbutt was bound over in £100 to appear at the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in March, 1772. The prisoner's father and brother, Obediah Hurlbutt and Obediah Hurlbutt, Jr., of Enfield provided a bond and William was released. Soon, however, they either became apprehensive or laid a plot to enable him to escape, for they had him taken into custody in February, 1772, and secured in the debtor's room in the Hartford jail. He soon broke out and escaped and his bondsmen petitioned the Assembly to have the forfeited bond abated, a request which the legislators denied.<sup>25</sup> At the same time the Assembly voted Hanchet a reward of £10.<sup>26</sup>

Obediah Hurlbutt, Jr., on March 20, 1772, prepared an advertisement offering a reward of five dollars and charges for the seizure of his brother. It read in part:

He is a person about forty years of age of a Dark complexion Dark eyes wears his own Darke hair of a mideling Stature well sett a shue maker by trade New England born wears a Lightish coloured coate pale blue Dubelbrested Jacot and Dearskin breeches and is sposed now to be in som of the western or northern parts of the province of Nueyork Nuejersey in connectison with money making tribe who have of late so much infested the coloneys. . . .<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept. and Dec., 1771; S.C. Records 17, Sept., 1771; C. & M. V, 342-345, 380b; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, pp. 648-649.

<sup>26</sup> C. & M. V, 388-389; Vi, 27; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIV, p. 47.

<sup>27</sup> C. & M. VI, 34a.

William was eventually taken up and jailed on August 3, 1772, but after about a week he broke jail, in company with others, by the aid of an instrument gotten to him from without, all of which Oliver Hanchet considered a trick devised by Obediah Hurlbutt, Jr.<sup>28</sup> William then went off to New York, where he soon fell into the clutches of the law, as will be related later.

It seems that one of William's bondsmen, Abraham Curtiss, was probably associated with Hurlbutt, Smith and the other counterfeiters. Curtiss was arrested by Oliver Hanchet and Sylvanus Griswold and bound over in £100 to the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in March, 1772. He obtained bail and then failed to appear in court, so that his bond was forfeited, while his captors were rewarded by the Assembly.<sup>29</sup>

It has been seen that John Smith was charged with having passed false bills to Jechonias Holcomb of Simsbury. Holcomb himself was one of the gang, as it turned out. Sadoce Wilcox of that town, discovering that Holcomb was knowingly uttering counterfeit New Jersey bills, seized him and brought him before Justice John Owen. The magistrate bound him over to the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in March, 1772, where Holcomb was admitted as King's Witness against John Smith and one Timothy Adams, while Wilcox was voted a reward of £5 by the Assembly.<sup>30</sup>

This Timothy Adams, who lived in Simsbury, was indicted at the Superior Court held in Hartford at the end of December, 1771, for having at Simsbury on or about November 10, 1771, passed a false 30s. New Jersey bill of the emission of April 16, 1764, to Michael Higley of Simsbury and for having passed two more such bills to Abel Pettibone of that town. Adams pleaded not guilty but was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> C. & M. VI, 28-30, 33.

<sup>29</sup> C. & M. V, 388-389; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIV. pp. 39, 47.

<sup>30</sup> C. & M. V, 370-371; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, p. 646.

<sup>31</sup> S.C. Records 17, Dec., 1771; S.C. Files, Hartford, Dec., 1771.

Perhaps connected with the same gang was another Adams, this one named Elisha, of Coventry. Timothy Thrall of Windsor in November, 1771, informed against him to Justice John Owen for counterfeiting and uttering coins and bills. Adams was arrested and in the course of his examination admitted his guilt, whereupon he was admitted as King's Witness and the informer was voted a premium of £10 by the Assembly.<sup>32</sup>

A further probable member of the band was Richard Stevens of Sheffield in Berkshire County, Massachusetts. On or about November 10, 1771, in Farmington he passed to Elijah Hart five counterfeit 30s. bills of New Jersey and one false 15s. bill of that province. The fraud was apparently soon discovered, and Isaac Bidwell, of Farmington, who about three years before had discovered Timothy Burbank, the coiner, and caused him to be convicted, now arrested Stevens and brought him before Justice Solomon Whitman of Hartford County. The magistrate bound him over to the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in December and allowed him to be released on bail of £50, furnished by Stevens and Samuel Hide of Canaan. Stevens, however, failed to appear in court, his bond was declared forfeited and the informer, Bidwell, was voted £10 by the Assembly.<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps Simeon Scripture, who had been convicted of coining in 1769, was connected with Smith and his associates. Scripture was arrested, examined and bound over to the Superior Court held in Hartford in December, 1771, at which he was indicted for having on or about October 10 at Willington, where he resided, coined twenty half joes and also stamped one hundred false 15s. shilling bills of New Jersey. His case was continued to the September, 1772, term, at which he pleaded that the indictment should be dismissed because he was therein charged with two distinct crimes against two different penal statutes and that because these crimes incurred different and distinct punishments they thus might not be joined in one indictment.

<sup>32</sup> C. & M. V, 372-373; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, p. 637.

<sup>33</sup> S.C. Records 17, Dec., 1771; C. & M. V, 368-369.

His case was once more continued and at the January term the indictment was quashed.<sup>34</sup>

The widespread counterfeiting in Hartford County, which was thus detected in 1771, resulted in a number of convictions at the March, 1772, term of the Superior Court. The *Connecticut Courant* of Tuesday, March 17, 1772, reported:

Last Friday ended the sitting of the Superior Court for March Term, when the following Persons received sentence, viz. John Smith of Suffield, for counterfeiting New-York and New-Jersey Bills, to have his right ear cut off, and be branded on the forehead with the letter C, his estate confiscated, be confined to a workhouse for life, and be kept to hard labour under the care of a master, and that he not depart therefrom, under penalty of being severely whip'd.—Also, Edward Williams of East Windsor, and Phineas Granger of Suffield, for engraving instruments for, and appropriating them to the use of counterfeiting Coin, to have their right ears cut off, and be branded on the forehead with the letter C, be whip'd 20 lashes, and be imprisoned six months, without bail or mainprize, which sentence (except whipping, which was suspended on account of the severity of the weather) was put in execution the next day.

Smith, as has been noted, had escaped from the Hartford jail on January 27, 1771, and it would seem that now, after sentence had been pronounced, he must presently have escaped, for he was one of a large gang of counterfeiters arrested and tried at a court of oyer and terminer in Albany County in November, 1772. He was there sentenced to death and was hanged early in 1773.<sup>35</sup>

Something is known of his life from two letters which he addressed to the printers in Albany before he was executed on February 8, 1773, as a convicted counterfeiter. His story was printed in the *New-London Gazette* of March 19, 1773. He was reared in Huntington County in West Jersey until he reached the age of sixteen. On a

<sup>34</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Dec., 1771 and Sept. and Dec., 1772; *The Superior Court Diary of William Samuel Johnson 1772-1773* (Washington, D.C.: The American Historical Association, 1942), p. 43.

<sup>35</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, pp. 155, 157, 159-160.

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visit to an elder brother who had married and moved to North Carolina, John found the brother living in splendor and resolved to equal him. John was by trade a millwright but he now turned to counterfeiting to enrich himself.

In his thirtieth year he moved to New England, married there and all went well until he was jailed in Hartford, tried, convicted of counterfeiting and sentenced to be cropped and branded, but broke jail and escaped. Then, filled with a spirit of revenge against society, he went to a master counterfeiter who lived in Sheffield, Massachusetts, Daniel Lewis, who supplied him with a quantity of counterfeits. This bad money he took to Cohoss, on the Connecticut River, where he arranged with a certain gentleman to take the false currency and to give horses in return. Upon Smith's return, Lewis sent him out again with a new supply of counterfeits, and he bought a fine horse with them. On this occasion, however, he was outwitted by the owner of the animal, for this person followed him, accused him of stealing the beast and forced him to settle according to his wishes. Smith admitted that a dollar which was sworn on him was false and that he knew this when he passed it and admitted that he had turned to all manner of sin save murder and robbery. On the other hand, he claimed that he had been backed by men of distinction and had been led on in crime.

Edward Williams of East Windsor had been seized through the efforts of Oliver Hanchet and was indicted for having on or about January 20, 1772, at East Windsor made 100 instruments called "types" for the purpose of making therewith other instruments called stamps or dies for counterfeiting gold and silver coins and also for making ten stamps for dollars and half joes. Williams pleaded not guilty but was tried, convicted and sentenced as was reported in the *Connecticut Courant*.<sup>36</sup> Oliver Hanchet and Silvanus Griswold had seized ninety-four of Williams' instruments used in making tools and instruments for counterfeiting and they were rewarded by the

<sup>36</sup> S.C. Records 17, March, 1772; S.C. Files, Hartford, March, 1772; *New-London Gazette*, April 3, 1772, p. 1.

Assembly.<sup>37</sup> While Williams was being kept in jail for want of money to pay his fine and costs, he escaped, together with others, from the prison and soon after broke one of his legs in two places. In September, 1772, he sent a memorial to the Assembly, showing that his creditors had taken away all his estate, that his wife and three small children were destitute, and that he was continually being exposed to being recaptured. He asked that he be freed from the danger of being arrested again, a request which was unanimously voted down by both houses.<sup>38</sup>

Granger, who in 1767 had been jailed in Hartford on suspicion of counterfeiting and had escaped on the night of September 29, had continued his nefarious business. Samuel Casey, the noted silversmith and counterfeiter, at his examination before the magistrates at Newport, Rhode Island, on July 14, 1770, stated that he had heard that Abner Burrows and Phineas Granger were in the counterfeiting business.<sup>39</sup> Hanchet and Griswold finally managed to apprehend Granger, probably early in 1772, and to seize in his possession a dollar mold and other instruments for coining dollars.<sup>40</sup> He was indicted at the Superior Court in Hartford in March, 1772, for having on or about January 20, 1772, at Suffield made a die for half joes and a mold and other instruments for coining gold and silver and also for having made twenty dollars and twenty half joes. He was tried, convicted and sentenced as described in the *Connecticut Courant*, save that in addition to the punishments mentioned therein he was fined £30 and costs.<sup>41</sup>

Because of the cold weather the lashing was put off and before this part of the punishment had been inflicted he broke jail. On October 13, 1772, the house of Gideon Granger of Suffield, a member of the

<sup>37</sup> C. & M. V, 346; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, pp. 614-615.

<sup>38</sup> C. & M. V, 399.

<sup>39</sup> See Casey's examination among the papers of the King's County Superior Court, now deposited with the Superior Court in Providence, Rhode Island.

<sup>40</sup> C. & M. V, 346; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, pp. 614-615.

<sup>41</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, March, 1772; S.C. Records 17, March, 1772.

General Assembly, was burned to the ground,<sup>42</sup> and Phineas was thought to have been responsible for setting the fire. Probably because of this incident he was sought after, taken and on November 12 received the twenty stripes due him at the public whipping post in Hartford.<sup>43</sup>

Oliver Hanchet was responsible for the capture of others who were associates of Granger, Williams and Smith. They were James Halladay, Lemuel Gusten, Roderick Wright and William Hurlbutt. Halladay, who lived in Springfield and was seized with £20 in false New Jersey bills in his possession, confessed and was made a King's Witness, while Wright likewise made a full confession and was accepted as King's Witness.<sup>44</sup>

Hurlbutt, who had been bound over to appear at the March, 1772, term of the Superior Court in Hartford but had fled, had been retaken in August but he quickly escaped again, as is revealed by the following advertisement, dated Hartford, August 13, 1772, and signed by Ely Warner, jailer. It reads:

Broke out of the Goal in this Town the Night after the 10th Instant, and made their Escape . . . William Hurlbut of Suffield, committed on Suspicion of passing counterfeit Money, is about 35 or 40 Years of Age, middling Stature, wears his own darkish brown Hair . . . Whoever shall take up John Grant, William Hurlbut, and John Morris, or either of them, shall have Forty Shillings reward for each, and Thirty Shillings each, for Higgins and Robbins . . .<sup>45</sup>

In November he was arrested for counterfeiting, was tried in Albany, New York, convicted, sentenced to death but finally pardoned.<sup>46</sup> It was he who gave information to Justice William B. Whiting of Albany County that led to the arrest of Joseph Bill, who had prepared everything but the types to counterfeit Connecticut currency.

<sup>42</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, Oct. 20, 1772, p. 2.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1772, p. 2, pp. 213-414.

<sup>44</sup> C. & M. V. 346-348; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, pp. 614-615.

<sup>45</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, Aug. 18, 1772, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, pp. 155-157, 159-161, 163, 167, 169, 171.

Whiting later wrote of the "great Numbers that were connected in carrying on the business undiscovered & in the Dark and which was a Deep Laid Plan for to have the several Governments Ruined in their Commerce and in Particular the Government of Connecticut . . ."<sup>47</sup>

King's Attorney Seymour on November 22, 1771, complained against Lemuel Gusten of Middletown, New Jersey, but then in Hartford. Oliver Hanchet apprehended Gusten and in his possession seized about £550 in counterfeit New York and New Jersey bills. He was charged with having made in Suffield about November 15, forty-three £5, thirty-nine £1 and twenty 10s. bills, all of New York, and also 109 New Jersey 30s. bills, three 15s. New Jersey bills, the faces of forty-three 30s. New Jersey bills and the back parts of forty-five 30s. New Jersey bills. He was committed to jail but soon broke out and made his escape.<sup>48</sup> He at once took up his criminal pursuits and in June was arrested, in company with James Bud, at Newport on suspicion of counterfeiting and passing New York and New Jersey bills. Gusten was jailed in Providence but in August he broke out, with the aid of one Andrew Aldrich, and made good his escape.<sup>49</sup>

Two others individuals were active in passing the false 30s. New Jersey bills and were doubtless associates of Gusten and the others mentioned above. John Lovely, alias John Wall, a transient person, was brought before the Superior Court in Fairfield in December, 1771, when he was indicted by the grand jury for having at Redding on October 1, 1771, had in his possession four false 30s. New Jersey bills of the emission of April 16, 1764, and for having passed one of them to James Rogers of Redding. Lovely was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law<sup>50</sup> but he must have escaped from confinement, for during the latter part of October, 1772, he was arrested for passing false New York bills in the province of New York, where he was tried, convicted, sentenced to death and hanged on April 2,

<sup>47</sup> C. & M. VI, 32.

<sup>48</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Dec., 1771; C. & M. V, 346-347.

<sup>49</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, pp. 145-148.

<sup>50</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1770-1779, Hil-L; S.C. Records 17, Dec., 1771.

1773.<sup>51</sup> The other person was Daniel Morehouse of New Fairfield, who was indicted by the grand jury at Fairfield in August, 1772, for having about February 5 had in his possession five counterfeit 30s. bills of New Jersey of the emission of April 16, 1764, and for having paid them away, two to John Church of "the Nine partners in the Province of New York," two more to Joseph Morehouse and one to Joseph Soal, both of New Fairfield. Morehouse entered a plea of not guilty and was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with law. He moved an arrest of judgment, on the ground that a later statute of New Jersey made part of the earlier one null and void.<sup>52</sup>

#### *William Cheney*

William Cheney of Chatham in Hartford County was arrested on the charge that he had made two sets of stamps, molds and milling instruments, one set for making dollars dated 1765 and the other for coining half joes dated 1744, and was committed to jail. At the Superior Court in Fairfield in December, 1771, the grand jury returned his indictment ignoramus and he was released on payment of costs of £13/5/10.<sup>53</sup>

The next year another inhabitant of Chatham, one Stephen Gates, was arrested and charged with having about May 29, 1772, stamped twenty dollars and ten half joes and with having then passed five of the dollars and four of the half joes to Amos Fuller of Hebron. In his possession was found a recipe for counterfeiting. The grand jury, however, as in the case of Cheney, returned the indictment ignoramus.<sup>54</sup>

#### *Counterfeiters in Litchfield County*

Another gang of counterfeiters was active in Litchfield County. One of the band, William Orr of New Milford, was indicted at the Superior

<sup>51</sup> Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, pp. 155-157, 159-160, 163, 167, 168, 170, 173.

<sup>52</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1770-1779, M-She; S.C. Records 17, Aug., 1772.

<sup>53</sup> S.C. Files, Fairfield, 1770-1779, A-C; S.C. Records 17, Dec., 1771.

<sup>54</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Sept., 1772.

Court held in Litchfield in December, 1771, for having at New Milford about November 7, 1771, passed a false Spanish dollar to Samuel Canfield, Jr. of that town and about November 12 another such coin to John Griswold, Jr., also of New Milford. He pleaded not guilty, was tried and convicted. Before, however, sentence was pronounced, he moved through his attorney for an arrest of judgment, since one of the jurors had been in pain during the trial and had left the court without permission. His case was then adjourned to the Superior Court to be held in Litchfield in February, 1772.<sup>55</sup> Orr was then convicted but not sentenced, as is shown by the following advertisement, signed by Lynde Lord, Sheriff of Litchfield County, which was printed in the *Connecticut Courant* of August 13, 1772:

Broke out of the county goal in this Place, the Night past, one William Orr, an Irishman, who was convicted at the Superior Court now sitting here, for passing counterfeit dollars, but has not received his punishment: he is a likely looking man, about 27 years of age, of a brown complexion, much freckled on his face and hands, redish hair and beard, five feet ten inches high, has with him sundry cloaths, among which is a dark grey surtout, a light colour'd wilton coat of a greenish cast and a black crape ditto. Whoever will apprehend and return said Orr to the goal from which he made his escape, shall be entitled to a reward of Forty shillings lawful money.

There is no indication that he was retaken.

William Imus had been arrested in 1768 for counterfeiting New York bills, had confessed his guilt and had been admitted as King's Evidence, thereby escaping prosecution. His experience did not cause him to mend his ways, for in February, 1772, he was indicted at the Superior Court in Litchfield for having on or about September 10 at New Milford made instruments and stamps and with them coined Spanish milled dollars. He pleaded not guilty, was tried, and a special verdict was returned. This verdict was set aside and the case continued, first until the August term in 1772 and then to the February

<sup>55</sup> S.C. Records 17, Dec, 1771.

term in 1773, when he was acquitted and ordered dismissed on payment of costs.<sup>56</sup> William Samuel Johnson, a justice of the Superior Court, had this to say of this case:

One Justus Milles had been Indicted and Tried next before this Trial, for the same Offence, in which it was charged he, and Imus, and others, were Jointly Concerned, the Jury Acquitted him but there was no Judgment yet Entered, and the Question whether he should pay Cost was yet undetermined. The Council for the King now moved Miles might be Admitted or rather Compelled to be a Witness for the Crown. It was objected on the other side that the Case being not yet finished, he could not be a Witness, that whatever he should say would either prejudice or Injure him with respect to the Cost. And a Case of Rex v. Fox at Windham was cited in which under like Circumstances a Witness was rejected and upon the Authority of that Case and the reason of the thing Miles was refused.<sup>57</sup>

Justus Miles of New Milford had apparently been apprehended about the same time as Imus and his case had been continued to the August, 1772, term of the court, He was released until then on bail of £250, furnished by himself, Daniel Peckhill and Samuel Miles, both of New Milford. The case was, then, as indicated above, continued until February, 1773. In his indictment he was charged with having about August 25, 1771, made instruments and stamps for coining dollars, for having made false dollars and for having about September 30, 1771, passed such a counterfeit dollar to Nathan Gunn at New Milford. After his indictment was returned *billa vera*, he pleaded abatement, on the ground that there were in the indictment various matters that could not be joined. He was acquitted and ordered to pay costs of £55.<sup>58</sup> In May, 1773, he petitioned the Assembly to release him from payment of costs, a request which was refused.<sup>59</sup>

Imus, who had also been ordered to pay costs, escaped payment,

<sup>56</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1770-1779, P-R; S.C. Records 18, Feb., 1773.

<sup>57</sup> *The Superior Court Diary of William Samuel Johnson 1772-1773*, p. 68.

<sup>58</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1770-1779, P-R; S.C. Records 17, Feb., 1772.

<sup>59</sup> C. & M. VI, 12.

though not by favor of the Assembly, as is revealed by the following advertisement, dated Litchfield, April 9, 1773, and signed by William Stanton, the jailer there. It read:

Broke out of Litchfield goal the night past, William Imos, who was tried by the honorable superior court in February past, for counterfeiting dollars and acquitted, but imprisoned for the Cost, about 30 years of age, something pock broken, wears his hair, and is about 5 feet 8 inches high.

A reward of ten dollars was offered for his capture.<sup>60</sup>

With reference, no doubt, to Imus, Miles and two others, Humphreys and Wheeler, the *Connecticut Journal* of February 19, 1773, reported: "Last Week, several Persons were tried at Litchfield, before the Hon. Superior Court, for counterfeiting Money, and were all acquitted." Humphreys and Wheeler had both been arrested for passing counterfeit New York bills of the latest emission. As, however, by a recent law of Connecticut the bills of New York were prohibited from having currency, it was decided that no crime had been committed, and the King's Attorney entered a *nol. pros.* in both cases. Wheeler moved that he be dismissed without costs, but, since he seemed to be a passer of bad money and was escaping punishment only "upon a nice Construction of the law," he was obliged to pay costs.

Gideon Wolcott, a transient person, was complained of to Justice Joshua Porter by George Marsh on December 3, 1772. Wolcott was taken up by Constable Joshua Stanton of Salisbury and examined on December 17 before Justice James Landon of that town on the charge that he had made and passed New York and New Jersey bills. He was bound over in £150 to the Superior Court to be held in Litchfield in February, 1773.<sup>62</sup> Nothing further is known of the case,

<sup>60</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, April 20, 1773, p. 4.

<sup>61</sup> *The Superior Court Diary of William Samuel Johnson 1772-1773*, pp. 61-62, 97.

<sup>62</sup> S.C. Files, Litchfield, 1770-1779, P-R; the *New-London Gazette* of Dec. 27, 1771, stated that false New York and New Jersey bills, on soft, flimsy paper, had been passed in New London; on the New Jersey 30s. and 15s. bills Walter Franklin was spelled Watter and Smith was spelled Smith.



so he may have escaped from jail or the King's Attorney may have refused to prosecute.

*Two Counterfeiters in Norwich*

Two citizens of Norwich in 1772 were suspected of being counterfeiters. One of them, Seth Perry, the son of Eliakin Perry, was twenty-four years old and had a wife and infant child. In January, 1772, he altered a 5s. Connecticut bill to 40s. and passed it off to Stephen Bingham at Windham. When he came under suspicion, he fled from the colony. His father in May, 1772, sent a memorial to the Assembly, setting forth that he had come from Rehoboth, Massachusetts, but had long lived in Norwich. He had seven sons still alive, two of whom, David and Sylvanus, had served in the campaigns against the French. He besought the legislators to permit Seth to live in Connecticut without fear of being prosecuted, and the Assembly, apparently impressed by the military record of David and Sylvanus, granted his prayer, Seth was permitted to return and not be subject to prosecution on condition that he pay all costs and provide good and sufficient bond for his good and peaceable behavior.<sup>63</sup>

The other person in Norwich was Jonathan Avery, Jr., a single man, who in March, 1772, was induced by Jeremiah Phelps, at Hebron, and others to take some base half joes to pass. Some of these he uttered and the rest he returned to the money makers. Apparently he was denounced by Phelps and was arrested on July 11, 1772. While he was being examined by William Williams, J.P., of Lebanon, he fled before the end of the questioning and escaped from the colony. His father, Jonathan Avery, Sr., on October 11, 1773, petitioned the Assembly to allow his son to return without fear of prosecution if a bond for good behavior were provided. The request was denied but when father and son made a similar request on May 6, 1774, it was granted, on condition that all costs of prosecution be paid and a bond of £200 be furnished for the younger man's good behavior.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup> C. & M. V, 359-361; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIII, pp. 640-641.

<sup>64</sup> C. & M. V, 396-398; VI, 19-21; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIV, pp. 42, 319.

*The Windham County Coiners*

In the fall of 1772, probably in October, a search was instituted for William Underwood of Plainfield, who was accused of making and passing Spanish milled dollars. Nehemiah Tinker and Samuel Kennedy, upon orders of Elisha Paine, King's Attorney of Windham County, went after him to the Cohoss country, where they sought him in vain for ten days. Underwood, however, lay concealed at home all the time and finally went to Hartford, where he surrendered to the King's Attorney and was admitted as a witness. As a result of his giving evidence several persons were arrested, bound over to the Superior Court and forfeited bonds in the amount of £800 by failing to appear.<sup>65</sup>

Suspected members of the gang that was broken up through Underwood's revelations were David Denison, Rozel and Isaac Morgan, Job Fox, Tille Parkhurst, Benjamin Fuller and Nathan Dean, all of Plainfield; Noah and Simon Spaulding, both of Scotland; Ebenezer and Job Talbot, both of Voluntown; James Flint, Jr., of Windham; Benjamin Hanks, Jr., of Mansfield.

About the end of October, 1772, Benjamin Cary, a grand juror, complained to Justice Elisha Paine that David Denison, Rozel Morgan, Isaac Morgan, Simon Spaulding and Job Fox had made dollars and half joes. The next day, on a warrant issued by Paine, Waterman Cleft of Plainfield arrested Rozel Morgan, who was bound over in £250 to the March, 1773, term of the Superior Court to be held in Windham. Bail was furnished by Rozel, by Isaac Morgan of Preston and by Tille Parkhurst of Plainfield. He could not be tried at this time, so he was bound over to the September term and bail was reduced to £150 that he might not be kept in jail until September. He and his father furnished the bond.<sup>66</sup> It is not unlikely that the King's Attorney refused to prosecute and that the case was dropped, though it

<sup>65</sup> C. & M. VI, 56-57a.

<sup>66</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1773 and Jan., 1774; S.C. Records 17, March, 1773; *The Superior Court Diary of William Samuel Johnson 1772-1773*, p. 208.

is possible that Rozel forfeited his bond by failing to appear in court.

Isaac Morgan was arrested on December 4, 1772, and brought before Justice Isaac Coit of Plainfield, who bound him over in £200 to appear at the next Superior Court to be held in Windham. He was released on a bond furnished by himself and Samuel Wheeler of Plainfield. There is no record of Denison's being arrested.

From the *New-London Gazette* of November 20 it is known that Joseph Eaton, an officer especially appointed, on October 29 arrested Simon Spaulding, who, however, that same evening escaped from Eaton. A reward of £40 was offered for the capture of the fugitive, who was described as "a tall slim strait Man, about 6 Feet high, light Complexion, had on when he went away a mixt coloured blue and white strait bodied Coat, superfine Broadcloth Waistcoat of a radish colour, Buckskin Breeches, mixt colour'd Stockings, his Buckles not Mates, blue Great Coat." For some time he eluded the officers but Deputy Sheriff Benjamin Lothrop of Windham on December 16 set out to apprehend Simon and Noah Spaulding of Scotland and on December 29 took up Simon and brought him to Windham.

More is known of Job Fox, who was arrested and brought before Justice Paine on October 30 on suspicion of having made dollars and half joes. The magistrate bound him over in £300 to appear at the Superior Court and committed him to jail for want of bondsmen. On December 19, 1772, Nehemiah Tinker put out an advertisement offering a reward of thirty dollars for the capture of Job Fox, alias Benjamin Allwell, who had broken out of the jail of Windham County in the night following November 21. The fugitive was described as a very well set fellow of about twenty-three years of age and about five feet eight or nine inches in height. When he escaped he was wearing a broadcloth coat and jacket and breeches and a white woolen shirt. He fled to Groton, where he was retaken by Ebenezer Gallup of Plainfield on May 11, 1773. Three friends, or, quite possibly, associates of Fox, namely Roger and David Fanning, Amos Stanton and John Cheesborough, the son of Colonel Amos Cheesborough of

Stonington, deceased, set upon Gallup and liberated Fox, who took to his heels and escaped.<sup>67</sup>

Two others of the gang, Benjamin Hanks, Jr., of Mansfield and James Flint, Jr., of Windham, were charged by Elisha Paine with having made half joes and other coins and with having passed counterfeit half joes. Justice Ephraim Root issued a warrant for their arrest and they were taken into custody by Deputy Sheriff Benjamin Lothrop about December 9. Justice Root bound them over to the Superior Court and they were released on bail of £200 each, furnished for Hanks by John, Uriah and Silas Hanks and Gershom Hall and for Flint by himself and Dr. Joshua Elderkin of Windham. Hanks, and probably Flint also, did not appear in court and their forfeited bonds were very likely part of the sum of £800 in bonds that was forfeited by members of the gang.<sup>68</sup>

Eli Chapman on December 28, 1772, complained to Justice Isaac Coit that Tille Parkhurst of Plainfield had been counterfeiting half joes and dollars, together with Nathan Dean, and had passed some of them. Constable Joshua Dunlop arrested Parkhurst and took him before Justice Coit, who on March 11, 1773, bound him over in £100 to the next term of the Superior Court to be held in Windham. Parkhurst was released on a bond furnished by himself, Abraham Shepard and Joseph Shepard. Apparently the case was continued until January 1, 1774, when the King's Attorney, Elisha Paine, closed the matter by refusing to prosecute further.<sup>69</sup>

Justice Coit likewise received a complaint from Moses Barnet, a grand juror, against Benjamin Fuller of Plainfield. Fuller was taken up by Constable Joshua Dunlop in February, 1773, and bound over by the magistrate to the Superior Court to be held in Windham in March. There Fuller was charged with having aided Nathan Dean in making half joes and with having on September 15, 1772, received of Dean a false dollar and having passed it on October 1 to George

<sup>67</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1773; S.C. Files, New London, March, 1774.

<sup>68</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1773.

<sup>69</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, Jan., 1774.

Dorrance of Voluntown. The grand jury returned the indictment ignoramus, and Fuller was dismissed on payment of costs of £6/12/2.<sup>70</sup>

Deputy Sheriff Lothrop on January 1, 1773, went to East Haddam after Dean, who was charged with having counterfeited at Plainfield on August 1, 1772, and at other times twenty half joes and fifty Spanish milled dollars. As the King's Attorney was unable to apprehend him, Dean finally came in and gave himself up on a proposal that he would be admitted as a witness for the crown. He was, then, so admitted, was bound over in £100 and was released on a bond provided by himself and Moses Barnet of Plainfield. On February 16 he was sworn as a witness against Benjamin Fuller and Job Talbot. It was found, however, that his evidence was insufficient to convict any other person, yet, upon the evidence that happened to be present, the grand jury indicted Dean. On March 19, 1773, a warrant was issued for his arrest and he was taken up by Paul Hébard, a sheriff's deputy. Since it appeared to the court that Dean had been used as a witness and that the public faith was pledged, the justices were of the opinion that he should be released and they ordered the King's Attorney to enter a *nol. pros.* Dean was then dismissed without paying costs.<sup>71</sup>

Moses Barnet on February 15, 1773, also complained to King's Attorney Paine that Ebenezer and Job Talbot, both of Voluntown, had made half joes and dollars and passed some of them. The next day Deputy Sheriff Benjamin Lothrop went to Norwich after Ebenezer Talbot, but with what luck it is not recorded. Job Talbot, in any event, was taken up by James Bradford and bound over by Justice Coit to the March term of the Superior Court. He was released on a bond of £50 furnished by himself and George Dorrance of Voluntown. There was not, however, sufficient evidence for a conviction, so King's Attorney Paine refused to prosecute.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1773.

<sup>71</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1773; *The Superior Court Diary of William Samuel Johnson* 1772-1773, pp. 222-224.

<sup>72</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, March, 1773; C. & M. VI, 39-41.

*Elias Herrick and Ebenezer Lenard, Jr.*

In an information dated May 12, 1772, Samuel Huntington, King's Attorney of New London County, charged that Elias Herrick and Ebenezer Lenard, Jr., were guilty of making bills of Connecticut and the neighboring colonies and of passing some in Norwich, in particular twenty-four false £3 New York bills to Robert Crage. Justice Christopher Leffingwell issued a warrant for their arrest, and Herrick was taken up at Salisbury and on May, 26, 1772, was bound over on £200 to the Superior Court to be held in Litchfield. He was released on a bond furnished by Thomas Safford and William Halsey, both of Preston. At the March term of the court the King's Attorney decided not to prosecute further and the case was dropped.<sup>73</sup> Apparently Lenard was never apprehended.

*Solomon Bill*

Solomon Bill of Middletown, who in 1753 had been arrested on a charge of counterfeiting, tried and acquitted, was again taken up on August 2, 1773, and examined. From the questioning of witnesses it was ascertained that he had told one James Adkins that he could make money and that Jeremiah Arnold had buried in the ground dollars which he had obtained from Bill. The *Connecticut Courant* of August 10, 1773, carried the following item concerning him:

Solomon Bill, a slim, pale fac'd man, full middling for height, between 40 and 50 years of age, who the greater part of his life has been strongly suspected to be concern'd in counterfeiting money, was on suspicion of being guilty of that crime, on the 2d instant sentenc'd by *Mathew Talcott*, Esq; to find sureties in the sum of £300 for his appearance at the next Superior Court at *Hartford*, but he has escap'd his keeper. Whoever secures said *Solomon* in Hartford goal, or delivers him to me the subscriber at Middletown, shall have a reward of four [apparently an error for "forty," which appears in the August 24 number of the newspaper] dollars for his good services, paid by Samuel Russel, Sheriff's deputy.

<sup>73</sup> S.C. Files, New London, March, 1773.

He was presently retaken and indicted for having about June 20, 1773, uttered to Samuel Clark, Samuel Higby and Jeremiah Arnold, all of Middletown, 200 counterfeit Spanish milled dollars. He pleaded not guilty, was tried, convicted and sentenced to have his right ear cut off, to be branded on the forehead with C, to receive twenty lashes and to pay a fine of £20 and all costs.<sup>74</sup>

On January 24, 1774, he memorialized the Assembly, asking that, for the sake of his wife, he be spared the infliction of the cropping and branding, which prayer was granted.<sup>75</sup> After being flogged he remained in jail because he could not pay the fine and costs. In May, 1774, the Assembly consented to his release on condition that he give a bond for fine and costs.<sup>76</sup> His evasion of some of the penalties doubtless encouraged him to continue his evil ways, for a few years later he was sentenced to serve a term of four years in Newgate Prison for having passed counterfeit bills of the State of New Hampshire.<sup>77</sup>

#### *A New Act against Counterfeiting*

For many years Connecticut had not enacted new legislation concerning counterfeiting. In October, 1773, however, in an act "for constituting, regulating and governing a Publick Goal or Work-House in the Copper Mines in Symsbury, and for the Punishment of certain atrocious Crimes and Felonies," it was provided:

(Whosoever) . . . shall presume to forge, counterfeit or alter any of the bills of credit of this Colony, or of the bills of credit of any other of the English Colonies or Provinces on this Continent; or shall utter and put off any such forged, altered or counterfeit bill or bills, knowing them to be such; or that shall counsel, advise, procure or anyways assist in the forging,

<sup>74</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, Dec., 1773; S.C. Records 18, Dec., 1773.

<sup>75</sup> C. & M. VI, 13-15; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIV, p. 241.

<sup>76</sup> C. & M. VI, 16.

<sup>77</sup> C. & M. VI, 77, 86-87.

counterfeiting, imprinting, stamping, altering or signing of any false, forged and counterfeit bill or bills, knowing them to be such; or that shall engrave any plate, or make any instrument to be used for any of the purposes aforesaid; or that shall stamp or any otherways counterfeit any of the several sorts of coin mentioned in an act of the reign of Queen Anne, entitled An Act for ascertaining the rates of foreign coins in her Majesty's Plantations in America, or any other species or sorts of gold or silver coins currently passing in this Colony; or that shall utter and put off any such counterfeit coin or coins, knowing the same to be base, false and counterfeit; or that shall make any instrument or instruments for the counterfeiting any of the coins aforesaid, or shall be aiding or assisting therein; . . . and shall be convicted of any or either of said crimes, before any county or superior court that shall have cognizance thereof, such person or persons so offending shall for the first offence suffer imprisonment in said goal and work-house, and there be kept to hard labour for a term not exceeding ten years, at the discretion of the court before which such conviction shall be had. And if any such person shall commit the like offence a second time and be thereof convicted as aforesaid, he or she shall suffer imprisonment in said goal and work-house, and there be kept to hard labour as aforesaid for and during the term of his or her natural life.

*Be it further enacted*, That any person or persons who have been heretofore convicted of any of the aforesaid crimes . . . and have not received the punishment or confinement to which he or they have been on such conviction sentenced, by having escaped or otherwise avoided the same without licence of the court or this Assembly, on being or taken in this Colony shall be by the superior court sentenced and sent to said prison, in the same manner and under the same regulations as persons who shall be hereafter convicted by virtue of this act, there to remain for such term as said court shall order and direct. . .

*Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That nothing in this act shall exempt, or be construed to exempt, or discharge any person or persons sentenced by this act from any pecuniary penalty, forfeiture or disabilities, which such offender or offenders are heretofore made liable to by any of the laws of this Colony.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *Col. Rec. Conn.* XIV, pp. 207–208.



*Elisha Barber and Hezekiah Griggs*

Toward the close of the month in which the above law was passed, October, 1773, a man was apprehended at Norwich and committed to jail there on suspicion of being concerned in counterfeiting money<sup>79</sup> but there appears to be no clue to his identity. The first counterfeiter to be sentenced in accordance with the new act was apparently Elisha Barber of Pomfret. John Richardson, a grand juror, complained, sometime in 1774, to Justice John Grosvenor that Elisha Barber and Hezekiah Griggs had in the spring of that year made a dollar mold, cast some coins and passed them. At their examination Griggs admitted his guilt but Barber claimed not to be guilty. Each was bound over in £40 to the Superior Court to be held in Windham in January and they were released on bonds, furnished for Griggs by himself and Abijah Griggs of Woodstock, for Barber by himself and James Hiams of Ashford. Nothing further is recorded about Griggs, so he may have failed to appear or possibly been accepted as King's Evidence against Barber. Barber was indicted, pleaded not guilty, was tried, convicted and sentenced to a term of two years in Newgate Prison. He was also to pay costs.<sup>80</sup> The Assembly displayed great mercy, for in May, 1775, since there were no aggravating circumstances and since Barber had shown signs of penitence and remorse, it was voted that he be released from Newgate if he paid all costs in addition to £5 a year for three years to the treasurer of the colony; otherwise he was to continue in the prison for the rest of his term.<sup>81</sup>

*John Morriss*

On August 14, 1775, at Killingly John Morriss, a transient person, was complained of by Asaph Wilder to Justice Thomas Moffit and was arrested on suspicion of altering a bill and passing it. At the September, 1775 term of the Superior Court held in Windham he

<sup>79</sup> *Providence Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1773, p. 3.

<sup>80</sup> S.C. Records 18, Jan., 1775; S.C. Files, Windham, Jan., 1775.

<sup>81</sup> C. & M. VI, 376-377; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XV, p. 53.

was indicted for altering a 6*d.* bill of Rhode Island of the emission of May 3, 1775, to £6 and then passing it to Asaph Wilder of Killingly.<sup>82</sup> He was tried, convicted and sentenced to imprisonment in Newgate. On May 9, 1776, he petitioned the Assembly, stating that he was weak, that he had a wife and family and that he had been nine months in prison. The overseers and master of Newgate certified that he had behaved himself well in jail, whereupon the legislators ordered his release on condition that he pay £15 in three equal annual installments.<sup>83</sup>

*Jonas Mace, Jr.*

On January 3, 1776, Edmund Bement of Enfield complained to Justice Alexander King that one Jonas Mace, Jr., of Stafford had passed off to him a three dollar Continental bill altered to nine dollars. A warrant was issued and Mace was soon apprehended by Elihu Kent, who found on him the following counterfeit bills: one \$30, one \$10 and one \$2 Continental; one 5*s.* and one 6*s.* Massachusetts; one 5*s.* and one 1*s.* Rhode Island; three 1*s.* and two 2/6 Connecticut. He was examined by Justices Alexander King and John Leavitt, who bound him over in £500 to the Superior Court to be held in Hartford in March, 1776. In court he pleaded guilty to an information by the King's Attorney that at Suffield on or about January 2, 1776, he had altered six 2/6 Connecticut bills to 1*s.*, two 6*d.* Rhode Island bills to £6, one 3*s.* Massachusetts bill to 5*s.* and also several Continental bills; further that at Suffield he had passed to Seth Austin one 2/6 bill altered to 1*s.* and various other altered bills to other persons. He was then sentenced to imprisonment for eighteen months in Newgate.<sup>84</sup> After two months in prison he sent a memorial to the

<sup>82</sup> S.C. Files, Windham, Sept., 1775; S.C. Records 18, Sept., 1775.

<sup>83</sup> S. & M. VI, 54; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XV, pp. 377-378.

<sup>84</sup> S.C. Files, Hartford, March, 1776; S.C. Records 18, March, 1776; C. & M. VI, 59-61; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XV, p. 348. He was sent to Newgate on March 11 (see the *Connecticut Courant* of March 11, 1776, p. 3, where his name is incorrectly given as Samuel Mace).

Assembly, stating that he was twenty-four years old, had a wife and two small children, was the only son of his parents and was deeply penitent. The legislators were moved and ordered his release.<sup>85</sup>

*Forty Shilling Connecticut Counterfeits*

Early in the spring of 1776 some counterfeits of the 40s. bills of Connecticut of the emission of May 10, 1775, appeared in circulation and in May their author, an able engraver named Henry Dawkins and his associates were arrested on Long Island. Dawkins was imprisoned for a time at White Plains, and two of his partners in crime, Israel and Isaac Young, at Litchfield.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>85</sup> C. & M. VI, 52–53; *Col. Rec. Conn.* XV, pp. 363–364.

<sup>86</sup> For a full account of the affair see Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, pp. 192–195.

### XIII

#### CONCLUSION

In Connecticut during the Colonial Period the names of some three hundred and fifty counterfeiters or suspected counterfeiters have been recorded. Of these some were innocent and some lived outside the colony but forged its bills. Doubtless there were many others engaged in the nefarious business who escaped detection and arrest. At the close of the seventeenth century, to judge by the testimony of Robert Fenton, a number of individuals in Massachusetts, New York and Connecticut were engaged in making and passing false coin. Despite the laws and the efforts of the authorities the number of counterfeiters grew along with the population. In some instances the malefactors worked alone or together with a few associates but little by little large gangs came into being and formed an extensive underworld of highly organized money makers. People like Owen Sullivan were methodical: "he provided himself with a secret retreating Place, and a Set of Accomplices for vending the Money that had been, or should be made by him, and supplying Necessaries, Conveniencies and Correspondents for putting the Business upon a regular Footing, and living comfortably upon it." And there were many others like Sullivan. A few years before the Revolution Justice William B. Whiting of Albany County wrote of the "great Numbers that were connected in carrying on the business undiscovered & in the Dark and which was a Deep Laid Plan for to have the several Governments Ruined in their Commerce and in Peticular the Government of Connecticut."

A few of the money makers came from England or elsewhere in Europe with a criminal past. Many were violent men, who lived most irregular lives and took pleasure in crime—one need only read the confession of Gilbert Belcher, the silversmith, or consider the lawless

conduct of David Sandford and his gang, who terrorized whole communities, or the gangster tactics of Isaac Jones, Joseph Bill, Owen Sullivan or John Wall. Others who became counterfeiters were living a hand to mouth existence and were tempted by the wiles of the professional criminals: Tucker, a blacksmith, said that his estate consisted mainly of his tools; John Carpenter was heavily in debt; Seth Porter and John Mallet had signed a bond and were in great financial distress to make it good; Caleb Strong was burdened with debts and had a wife and numerous children to support; Nathaniel Barns's lands were mortgaged; Lewis Bennett was very poor and had a wife and several small children; Edward Williams' creditors seized all his estate; Elias Wilcox was poor, crippled and had five children and had been deserted by his wife; Zephaniah Spicer was young, poor, and had a sickly wife and two small children. Such are a few examples of those who were easily led to try their hand at "making" money. A few persons, however, were men "of estate and character," such as Abel Buel, the Greenmans in Rhode Island, and Joseph Avery. A number of persons, William Robinson, Solomon Bill, Joseph Bill, William Barker, Ebenezer Seamore, Ovid Rushbrook, John Smith, for example, were fascinated by counterfeiting and seemingly could not let it alone.

The occupations of almost fifty of the counterfeiters are known. It is not surprising that a number were workers in metal: eight were blacksmiths, three were silversmiths and two must have been either blacksmiths or silversmiths; John True was a coppersmith, Joseph Steel a refiner of pig metal and Henry Dawkins an engraver. Four were physicians, two were mariners, two were masters of sloops, three were tavernkeepers, two were saddlers, two were shopkeepers, one was a tailor, one a joiner, one a miller, one a shoemaker, one a mason, one a weaver, one a shingle maker, one a maker of sundials, one a trader, one a laborer, five were farmers, one was a justice of the peace in Rhode Island, and one, Samuel Weed, seems to have been a farmer who later wished to become a leather dresser.

It was by no means easy to secure the indictment or conviction of

counterfeiters, and this doubtless encouraged the crime. In Connecticut some twenty-four had their indictments returned ignoramus by the grand jury. Sixteen cases are recorded where the King's Attorney was unwilling to prosecute, and the indictment of one, Simeon Scripture, was quashed. Some sixteen men are known to have escaped prosecution by being admitted as witnesses for the Crown, and it should be noted that one of the surest methods of securing the conviction of a counterfeiter was to induce an accomplice to bear witness against him. Twenty-one persons were tried and acquitted, though many seem to have been guilty and to have escaped through legal technicalities or want of sufficient evidence at the time. Eight individuals were dismissed by a magistrate or court for want of evidence or some other reason. In Massachusetts two escaped by pleading benefit of clergy and had their thumbs burned. For those, however, who could secure bondsmen the favorite means of avoiding the consequences of their crimes was to forfeit bail by not appearing in court. As a rule they were then no further molested and got off without corporal punishment or imprisonment, while their bondsmen paid the amount of the bonds. Forty-six persons escaped punishment by this device. To make matters worse, the bondsmen usually tried to induce the Assembly to reduce the amount of the bonds, and the leniency of the legislators in this regard frequently defeated the ends of justice and led relatives and friends to sign bonds that were too large for them to pay. Of the forty-six bonds that were forfeited, the following were ordered to be chancered down as follows: that of Shubael Rowly, Jr., from £40 to £36; of Joseph Waterhouse from £300 to £150; of Samuel Sherman from £300 to such an amount as would cover costs and the £20 reward to the informer; of Benjamin Beardslee from £50 to £25; of Israel Beardslee from £300 to £50; of Peter Smith from £100 to £50; of Odel Squire from £130 to nothing on condition that costs and charges were paid; of Amos Tyler from £60 to £20; of Ebenezer Jackson, Jr., from £60 to £30; of Caleb Strong from £100 to nothing; of John Carpenter from £300 to £132; of Edward Cogswell from £50 to £25; of Henry Vorse from

£50 to £20; of Peletiah Turner from £60 to £20; of Hubbard Brown from £300 to £10; of Daniel Sturges, 3rd, from £500 to £100; of Seth Porter from £1,000 to £225.

The jails of the time were notoriously weak and many counterfeiters had a record of successful escapes from jail or from officers of the law, some of them on more than one occasion. Thirty-six persons are known to have broken jail and probably five others managed to make such escapes, while the names of still others are not recorded. Six individuals, at least, fled before they could be taken.

Some eighty persons, however, were convicted and punished in one way or another for the crime of counterfeiting. The penalties meted out depended, of course, upon the laws in effect at the time and, to some degree, upon the discretion of the judges. In 1710 it was enacted that those convicted of counterfeiting the bills of Connecticut should pay all damages, be imprisoned for six months and suffer such other penalty or corporal punishment as the court might inflict; one half of any fine was to go to the treasury and one half to whoever prosecuted the case. In May of the next year a new law provided that convicted counterfeiters not only of bills of Connecticut but also of those of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York and New Jersey were to be imprisoned for six months and suffer such other fine, penalty or corporal punishment as the court might decide. Any fine was to go to the treasury and the informer was to receive a reward of £20, which about 1750 was reduced to £10. Any alterer of bills or forger of signers' names was to be punished as provided in the legislation against forgery and was further to pay treble damages to all persons injured. The penalty for knowingly passing was the same as for counterfeiting.

In May, 1717, the Assembly provided that all false, altered or counterfeit bills should be seized by the treasurer of the colony or any assistant or justice of the peace. The last two were empowered to require the person from whom the bill was taken to enter his name on the back of the bill and declare the person from whom he received the bill and to investigate the matter further. In May, 1720, the

Assembly provided that any counterfeiter of coin or person knowingly passing false coin was on conviction to be imprisoned for six months and suffer such fine or corporal punishment as was decided by the court.

Four years later the legislators greatly increased the severity of the penalties for counterfeiters or passers of Connecticut bills or those of the other New England colonies and New York and New Jersey. Upon conviction offenders were to have the right ear cut off, be branded on the forehead with C, be committed to the workhouse for life, have all property confiscated and be forever debarred from trading or dealing in the colony. This law was in effect until October, 1773. The harshness of life imprisonment was greatly mitigated by the practice on the part of the Assembly of freeing many convicts after a comparatively short imprisonment.

The penalty for coining or passing false coin had been much lighter than in the case of bills and had not been changed since the enactment of the law of 1720. In May, 1771, however, it was provided that a person convicted of such offenses was to have his right ear cut off, be branded on the forehead with C, be whipped twenty stripes, be imprisoned for six months, pay a fine at the discretion of the court and pay costs of prosecution.<sup>1</sup>

A final change was made in October, 1773, when it was enacted that counterfeiters of bills or coin that was current or passers of false bills or coin were to be imprisoned for a first offense in Newgate Prison for a term not exceeding ten years and for a second offense for life in the same prison. Further this act was not to exempt any persons sentenced under it from pecuniary penalties, forfeitures or disabilities to which such an offender was heretofore made liable by any laws of Connecticut.

A term of even so short a period as six months in a county jail was no light matter, especially in winter, as the Assembly recognized when it permitted Joseph Elderkin and Timothy Parkhurst to begin

<sup>1</sup> See Kenneth Scott, "Punishment of Coiners in the Colony of Connecticut," *Numisma V* (1955), pp. 73-79.



their sentences of six months each at such a time of the year that the prison and weather would allow them to be imprisoned without danger of hazarding their health. William Barker stated that he broke out of the jail in New Haven "as he was like to freeze to death." Thomas Wagstaff feared the hardships of a winter in prison and Aaron Wilcox complained of "chilling cold" and "pinching hunger." Ephraim Sheevie complained of his suffering in chains in a stinking, nasty jail, infested with vermin, unheated in March and April, with no straw to sleep on and only bread and water for fare. Similarly Jonathan Richardson and Edward Aldrich wrote of the "pinching hunger" and only the "naked floor" beneath them, while Amos Fuller maintained that his health was gravely endangered. Newgate Prison, a former copper mine under the ground, was still more of a risk to health of mind and body and it afforded no possibility of escape.

It is, then, small wonder that the Assembly as a rule released convicted counterfeiters after a short time, especially as it was expensive to feed them in jail and also as in most instances their families became town charges. John Andrews, who was jailed in September to serve a term of six months, was set free in October. Ephraim Sheevie, Hezekiah Cox, Jonathan Richardson, Edward Aldrich, Jeremiah Thornton and Thomas Cooper were released with the understanding that they must leave the colony forever. Elisha Parker, Robert Martyn, Daniel Tucker, Nathaniel Wooster, Samuel Weed, Aaron Wilcox, Amos Fuller, Jedediah Cady, John Clark, Abel Buel, John Mallet, Lewis Bennett and Thomas Wagstaff were let go free after short periods but confined to the limits of their respective towns. Hugh Gillespy was released on condition that he enlist in the army or navy and Zephaniah Spicer on condition that he enlist for the expedition against Crown Point. Solomon Bill, who was jailed until he should pay a fine of £20 and costs, obtained his discharge by giving a bond for the amount to be paid. Elisha Barber, John Morriss and Jonas Mace, Jr., all were released from Newgate long before their terms were served.

A considerable number of persons charged with counterfeiting were sold for a period of time to pay costs or charges or fines. Joseph

Steel, Michael Falshaw and William Severs were thus sold to satisfy the costs in their cases; Jeremiah Lisha had to serve two years to pay costs in his case; Odel Squire was ordered to serve five years to pay costs of £24/8/10; Caesar Trick was sold for eight years to pay damages of £24 and costs of £9/-/6; an Indian woman named Mary was sold for fifteen years to satisfy costs of £15/19/10; Joseph Munsel's services were considered more valuable, for he had to serve a year and a half to pay costs of £13/1/7; Nathan Baxter was assigned in service to his brother for two years to pay costs of £22/2/1; Samuel Falshaw was to serve four years to pay a fine of £60 and the charges in his case; Benjamin Swan was assigned in service for five years to William Parke to pay a fine of £20 and costs but Swan first fell sick and, when he recovered, joined the army and went to Crown Point, where he died of the smallpox.

The reward of £20, and later £10, for informers against counterfeiters was a considerable inducement and led to the capture of many malefactors. Sometimes a special premium might be given, for the Assembly granted Ephraim Seeley £50 for helping to detect Joseph Boyce and Scias. Persons who especially distinguished themselves in pursuing counterfeiters and breaking up gangs of money makers were Robert Clark, Eliphalet Beecher, Isaac Warner, Isaac Bidwell, Isaac Cotton, and Oliver Hanchet.

Counterfeiting was a constant threat to the credit of the bills of the colony and to trade and commerce within Connecticut and between that colony and other provinces. In addition individuals from time to time suffered serious loss through receiving false money. For example, bad dollars passed by Nathaniel Fales about 1751 completely ruined two honest men and caused a number of others to suffer greatly. In May, 1713, the Assembly ordered that because so many bills had been altered the old emission should be called in and replaced with new bills containing special devices to protect them. In many instances the total amount of money altered or counterfeited was not great but sometimes vast amounts were turned out. Owen Sullivan seems to have made several hundreds of thousands of pounds; Caesar Trick

made a large amount of bogus money; Macdonald brought in £100,000 in counterfeits from Europe and Robert Neal imported more than £2,500 of them; John Smith and Hurlbutt made considerable sums; Oliver Hanchet took some £550 in bad bills on Lemuel Gusten. Some counterfeits were cunningly made and difficult to detect but in general it seems that there were always many persons so ignorant or careless that the crudest forgeries could pass among them. The outbreak of the Revolution and the printing of counterfeits by the British and their distribution by Tories gave new impetus to the operations of money makers which had already grown to alarming proportions in the British colonies during the Colonial Period.

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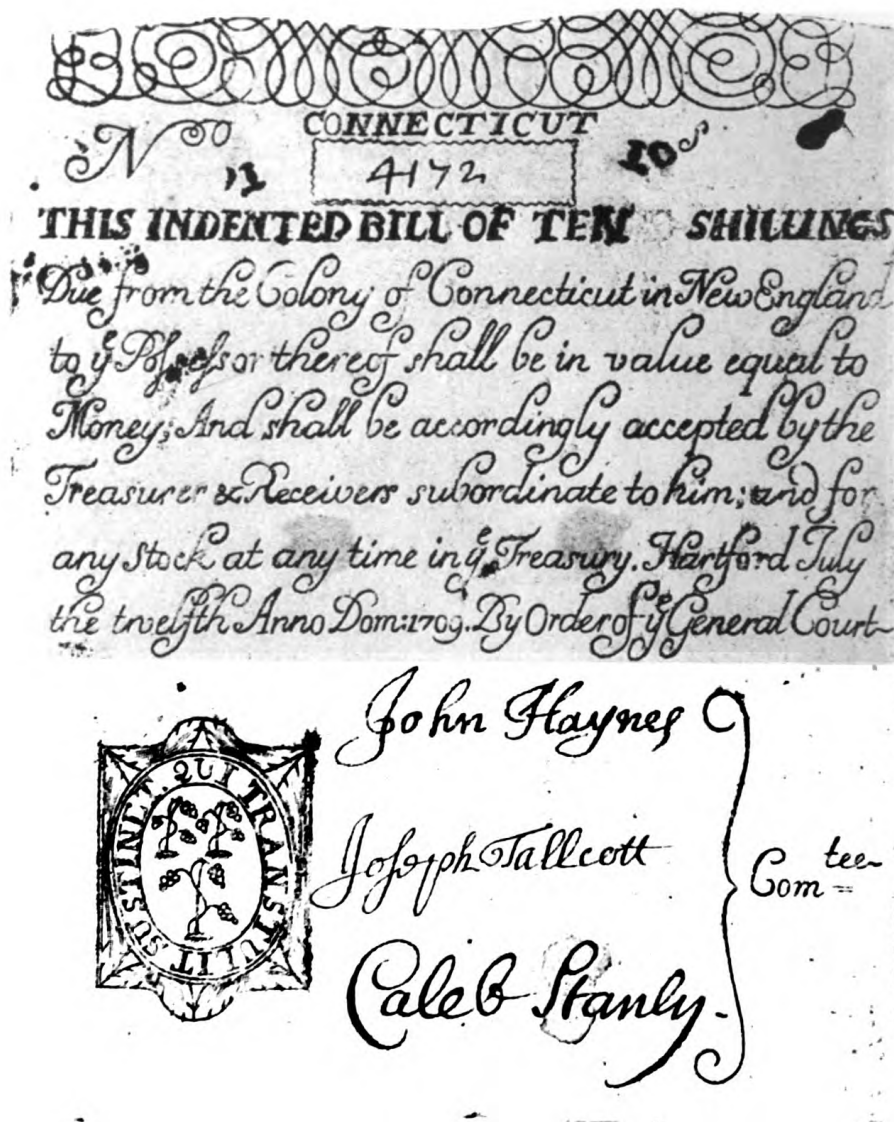
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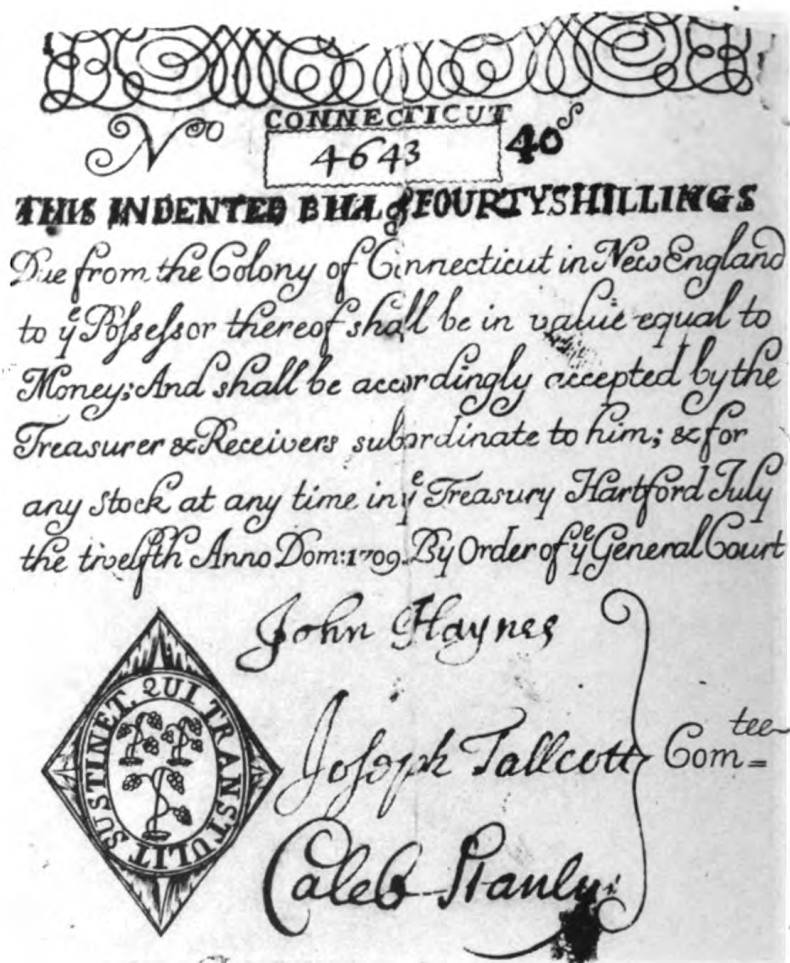
THREE SHILLING CONNECTICUT BILL ALTERED  
TO TEN BY EBENEZER SEAMORE (Obverse)

March, 27<sup>th</sup> 1711. I paid out of the Fine  
rec<sup>d</sup> of Ebenezer Seamore, the sum of  
Ten Shillings to Simon Chapman, in  
Lieu of this Counterfeit Bill —  
Test Caleb Stanley Secry.

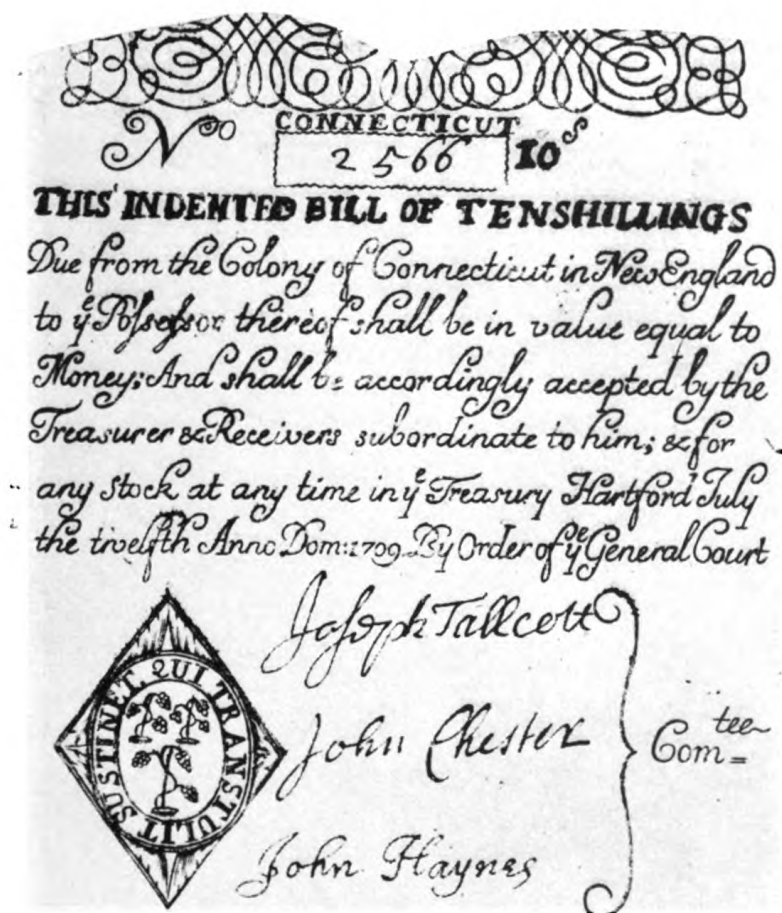
June 26<sup>th</sup> 1710.  
Sarah the wife of Simon Chapman of  
Windsor made Oath before me the subscriber  
that she rec<sup>d</sup> & had this bill of Credit  
of Ebenezer Seamore of Farmington —  
Test — William Pickin Clerk

Simon Chapman

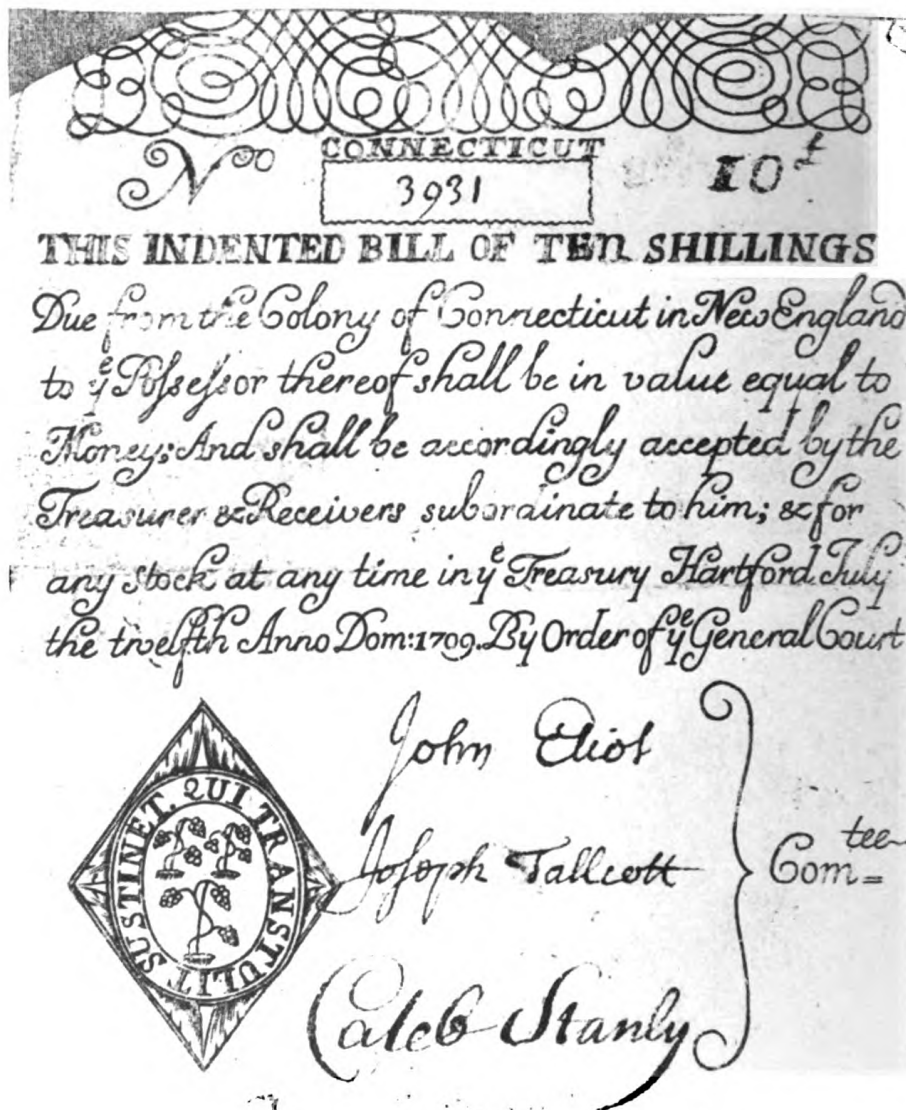
THREE SHILLING CONNECTICUT BILL ALTERED  
TO TEN BY EBENEZER SEAMORE (Reverse)



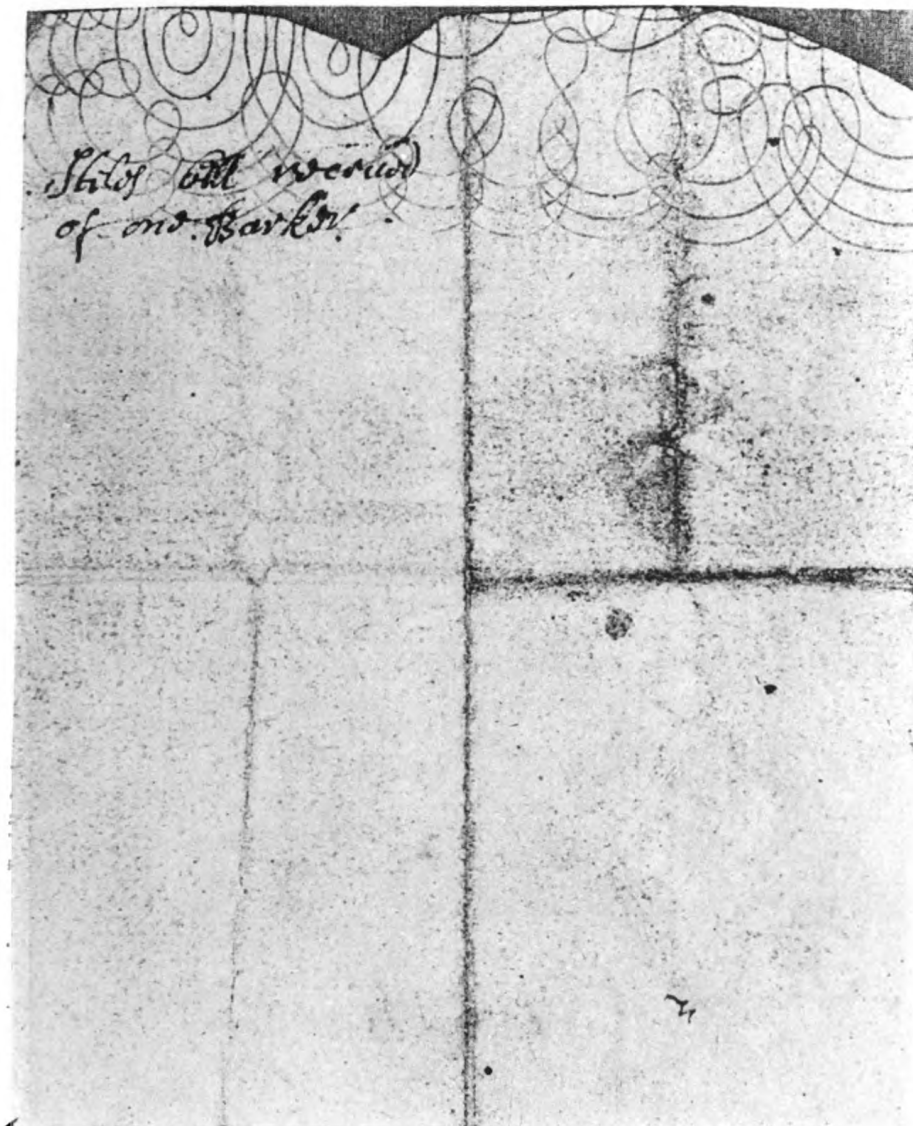
TWO SHILLING CONNECTICUT BILL ALTERED  
TO FORTY BY EBENEZER SEAMORE (RICHARD LORD)



TWO SHILLING CONNECTICUT BILL ALTERED TO  
 TEN BY EBENEZER SEAMORE (Z. SANDFORD)

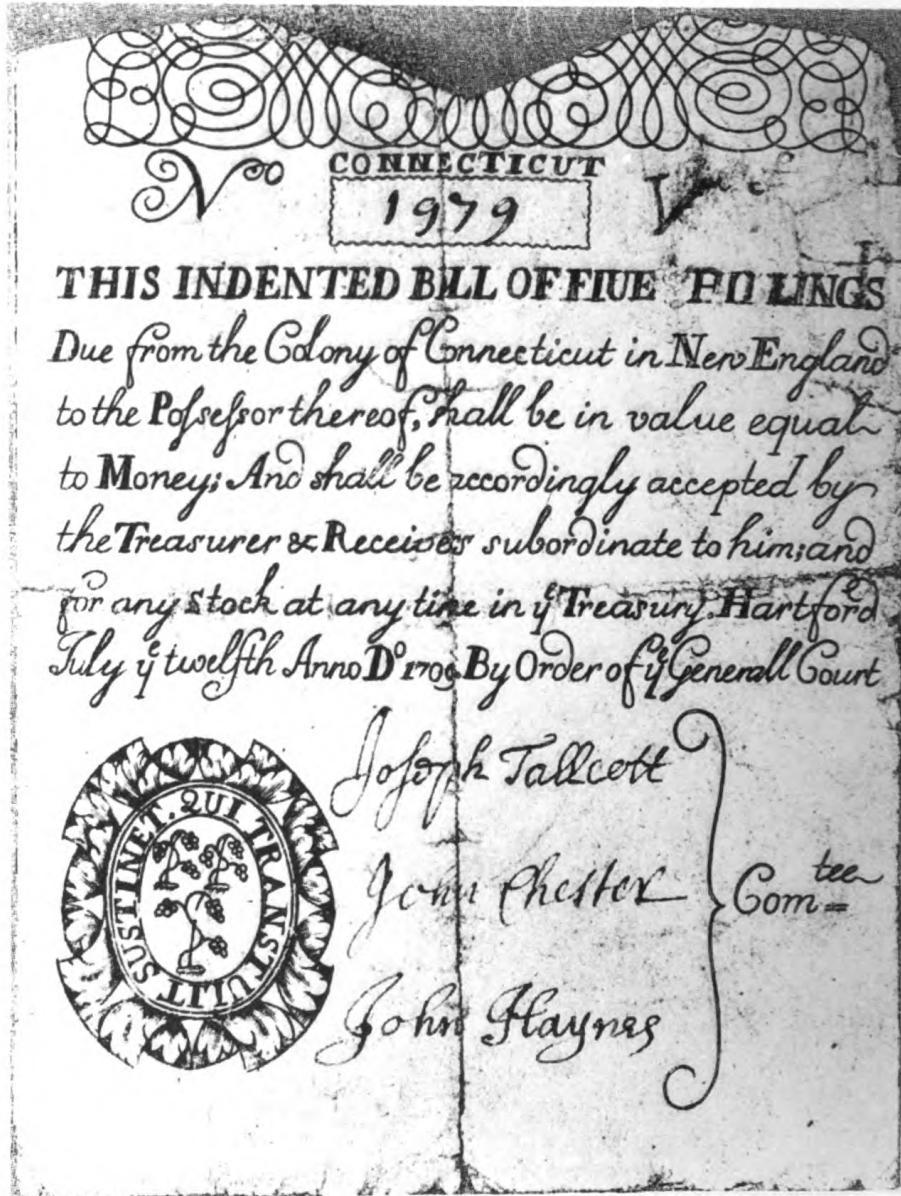


TWO SHILLING CONNECTICUT BILL ALTERED  
 TO TEN BY WILLIAM BARKER (Obverse)

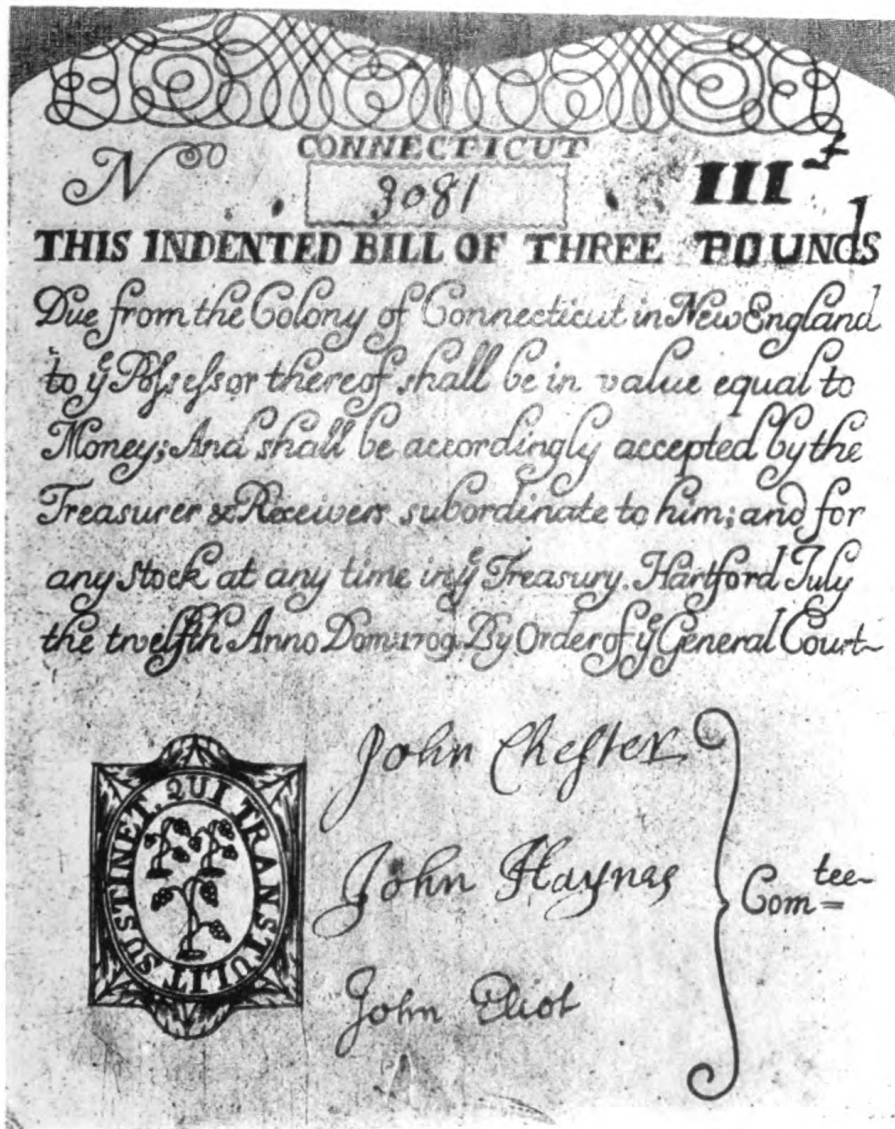


TWO SHILLING CONNECTICUT BILL ALTERED  
TO TEN BY WILLIAM BARKER (Reverse)

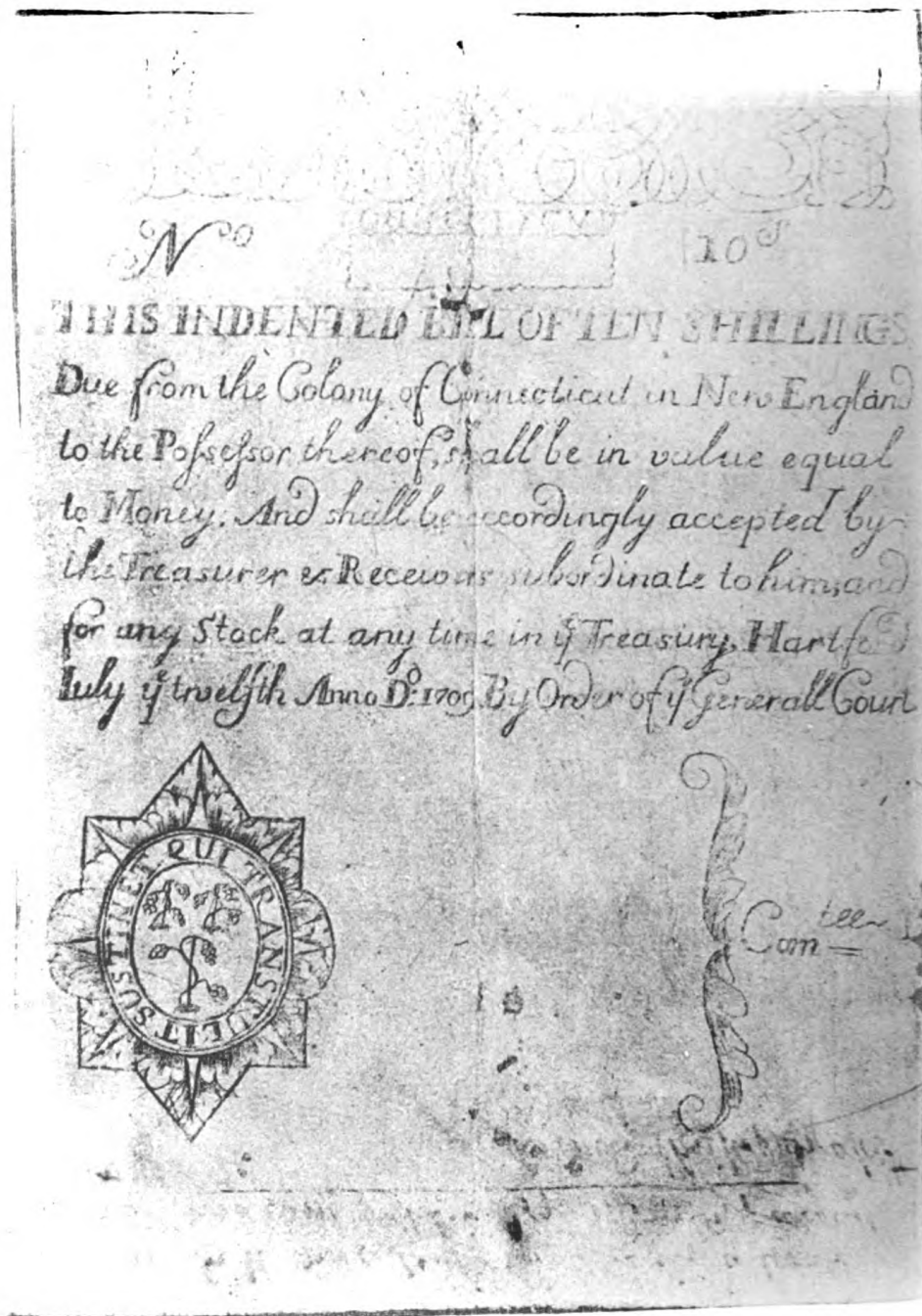




FIVE SHILLING CONNECTICUT BILL ALTERED  
TO FIVE POUNDS BY SAMUEL MUNN



CONNECTICUT BILL ALTERED TO THREE  
POUNDS BY SAMUEL MUNN



TEN SHILLING CONNECTICUT COUNTERFEIT  
OF THOMAS BANKS (Obverse)

This bill was sent enclosed in a letter  
 from William Pittkin Esq the 2<sup>th</sup> of August  
 1717. to Richard Christopher Esq<sup>r</sup>

TEN SHILLING CONNECTICUT COUNTERFEIT  
 OF THOMAS BANKS (Reverse)

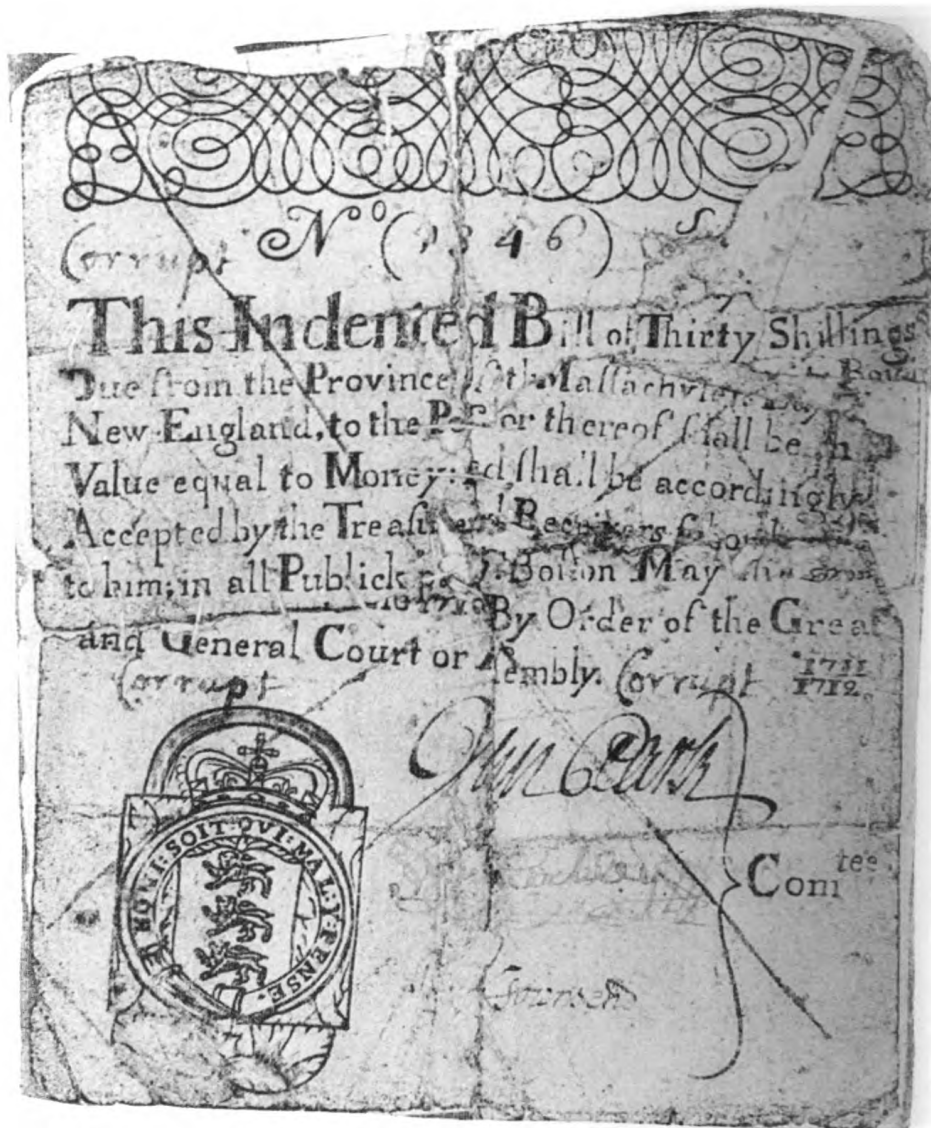


COUNTERFEIT FORTY SHILLING RHODE ISLAND  
BILL OF OVID RUSHBROOK

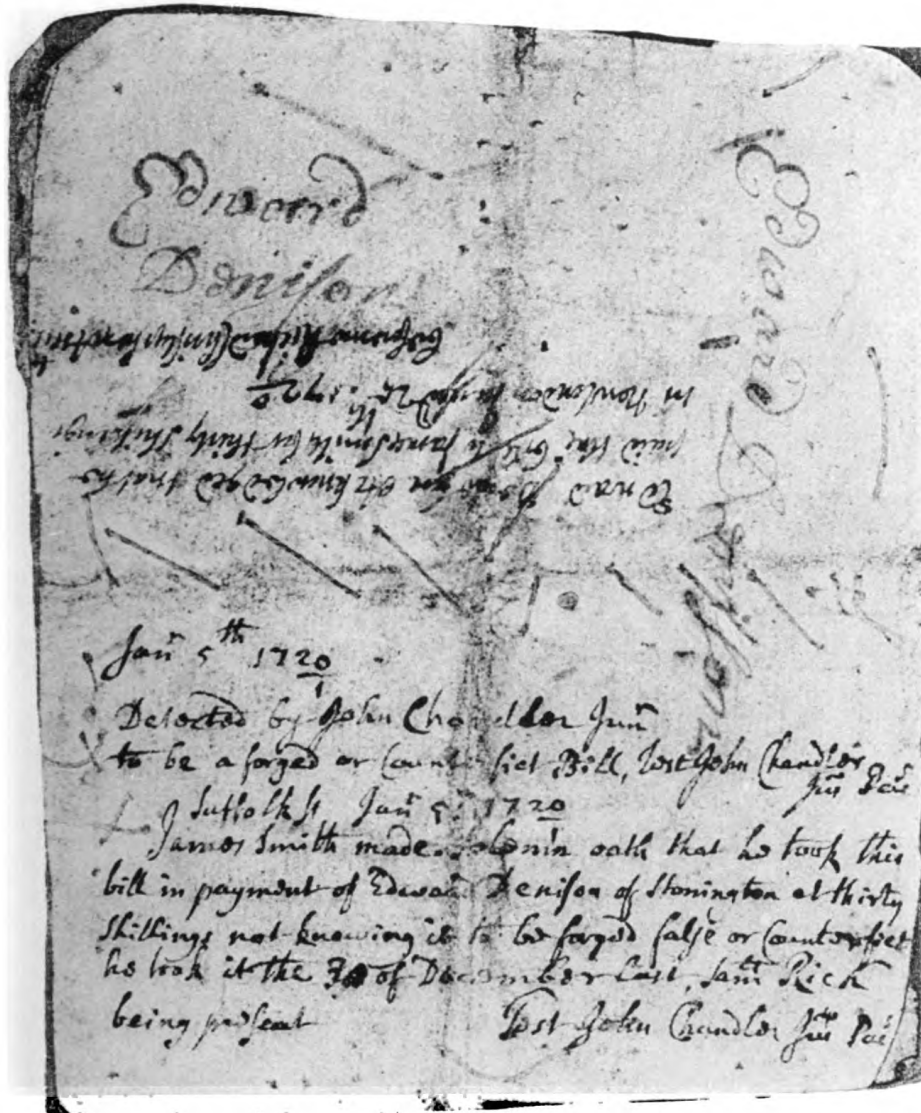


FIFTEEN PENNY NEW HAMPSHIRE BILL ALTERED  
TO THREE POUNDS BY OVID RUSHBROOK





THREE SHILLING MASSACHUSETTS BILL ALTERED  
TO THIRTY BY EDWARD DENISON (Obverse)



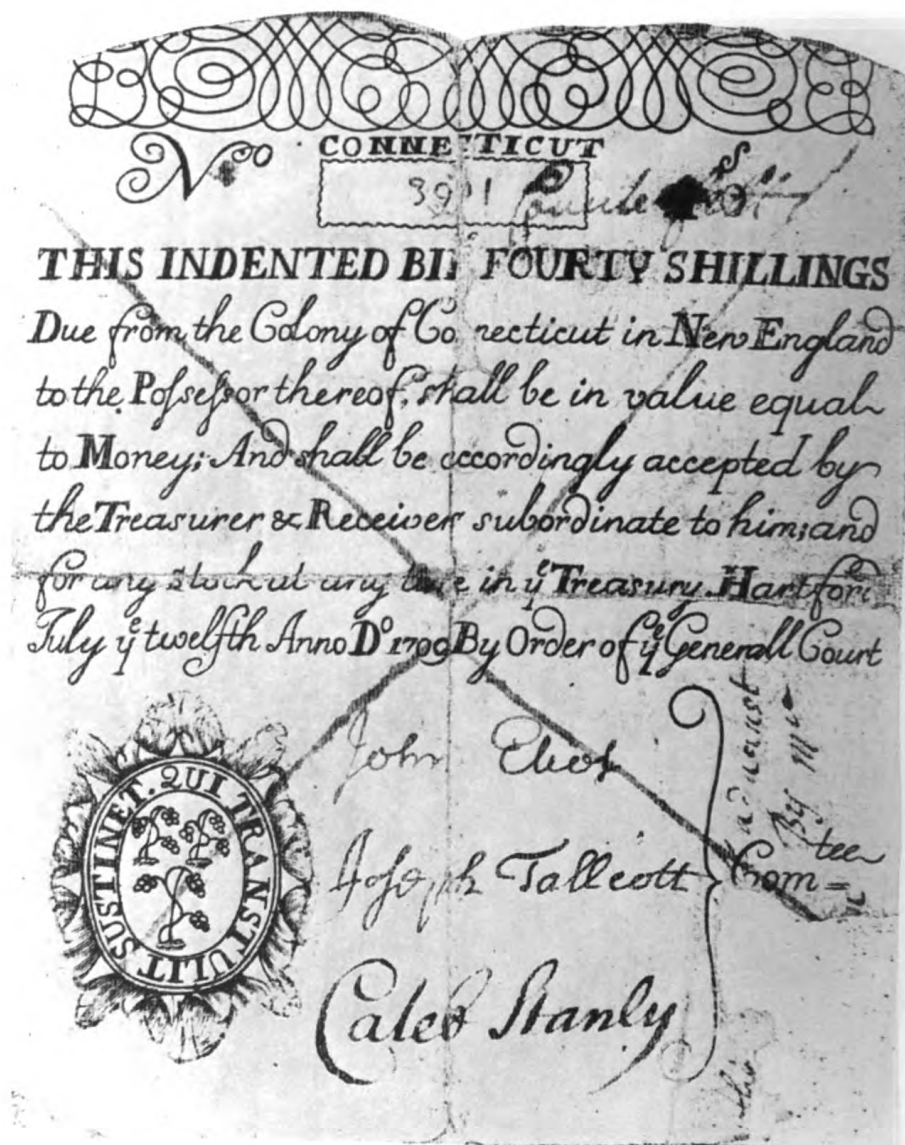
THREE SHILLING MASSACHUSETTS BILL ALTERED  
TO THIRTY BY EDWARD DENISON (Reverse)



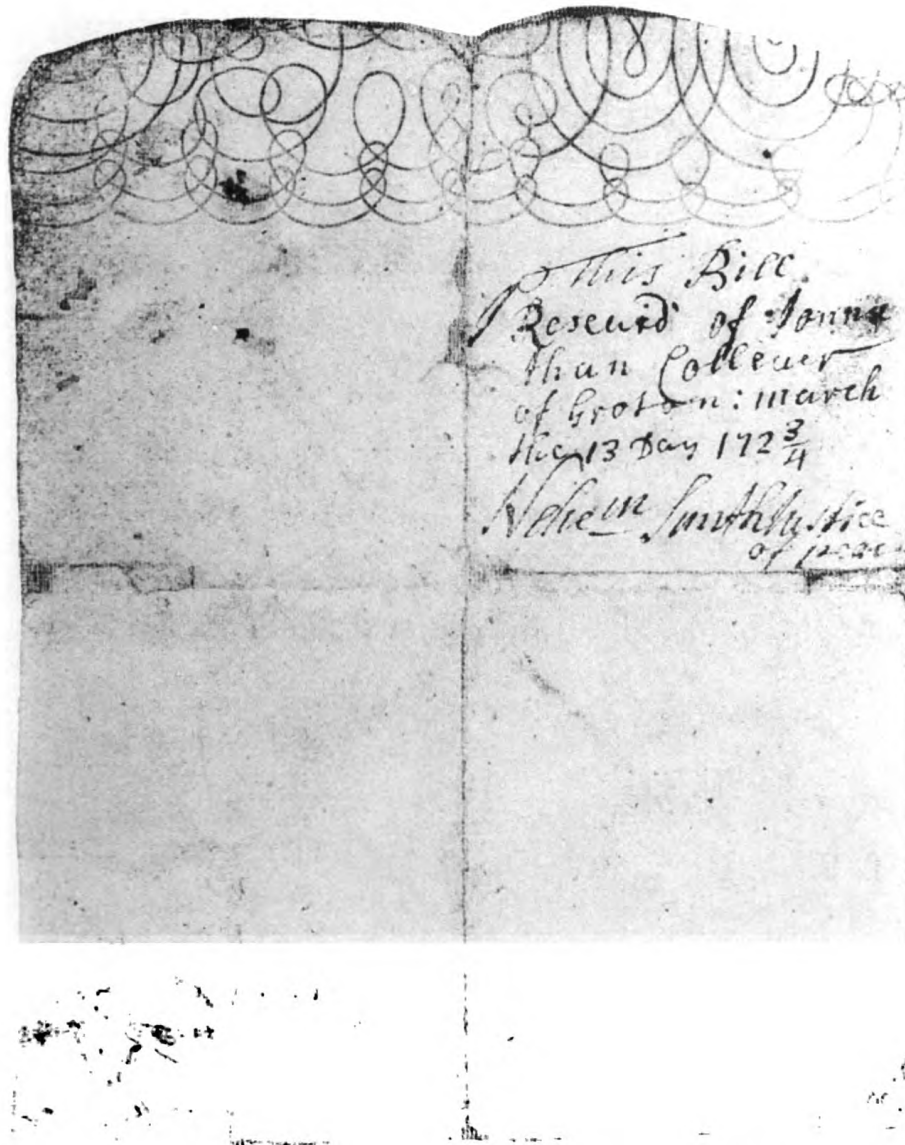


COUNTERFEIT FIVE POUND RHODE ISLAND  
 BILL OF JAMES POISSON

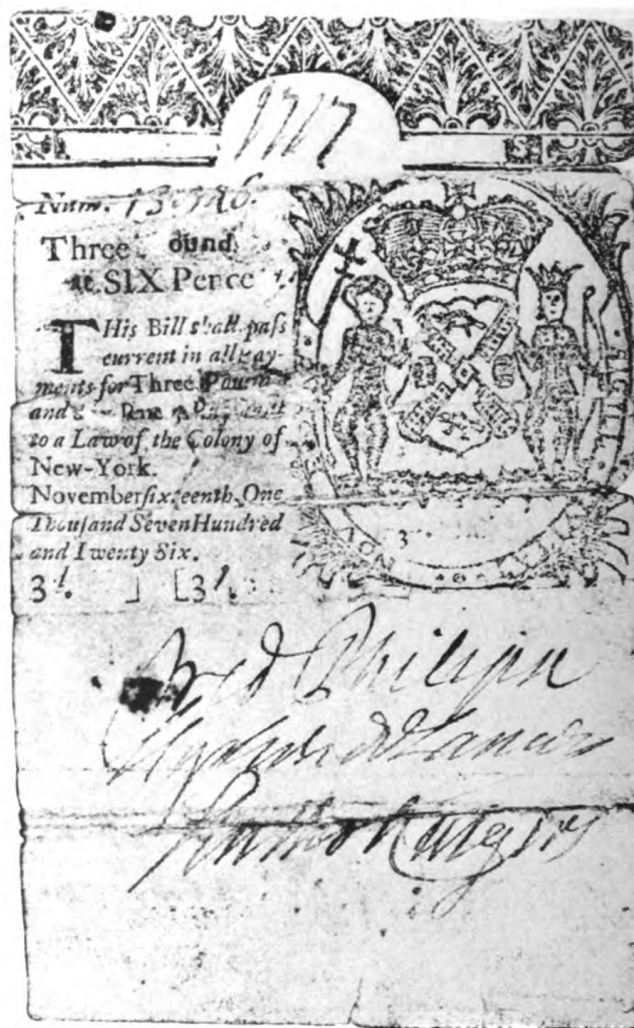




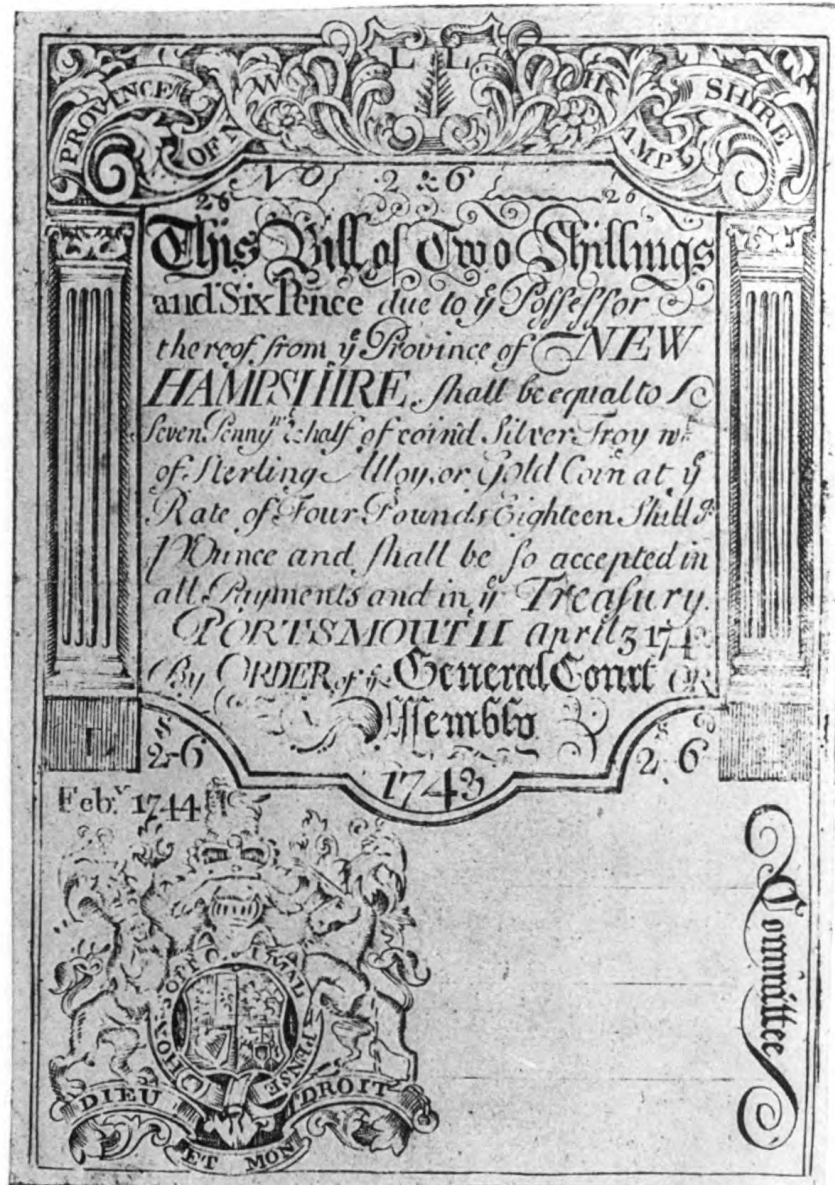
FIVE SHILLING CONNECTICUT BILL ALTERED TO FORTY — SWORN ON JOHN WILLIAMS (Obverse)



FIVE SHILLING CONNECTICUT BILL ALTERED  
TO FORTY — SWORN ON JOHN WILLIAMS (Reverse)

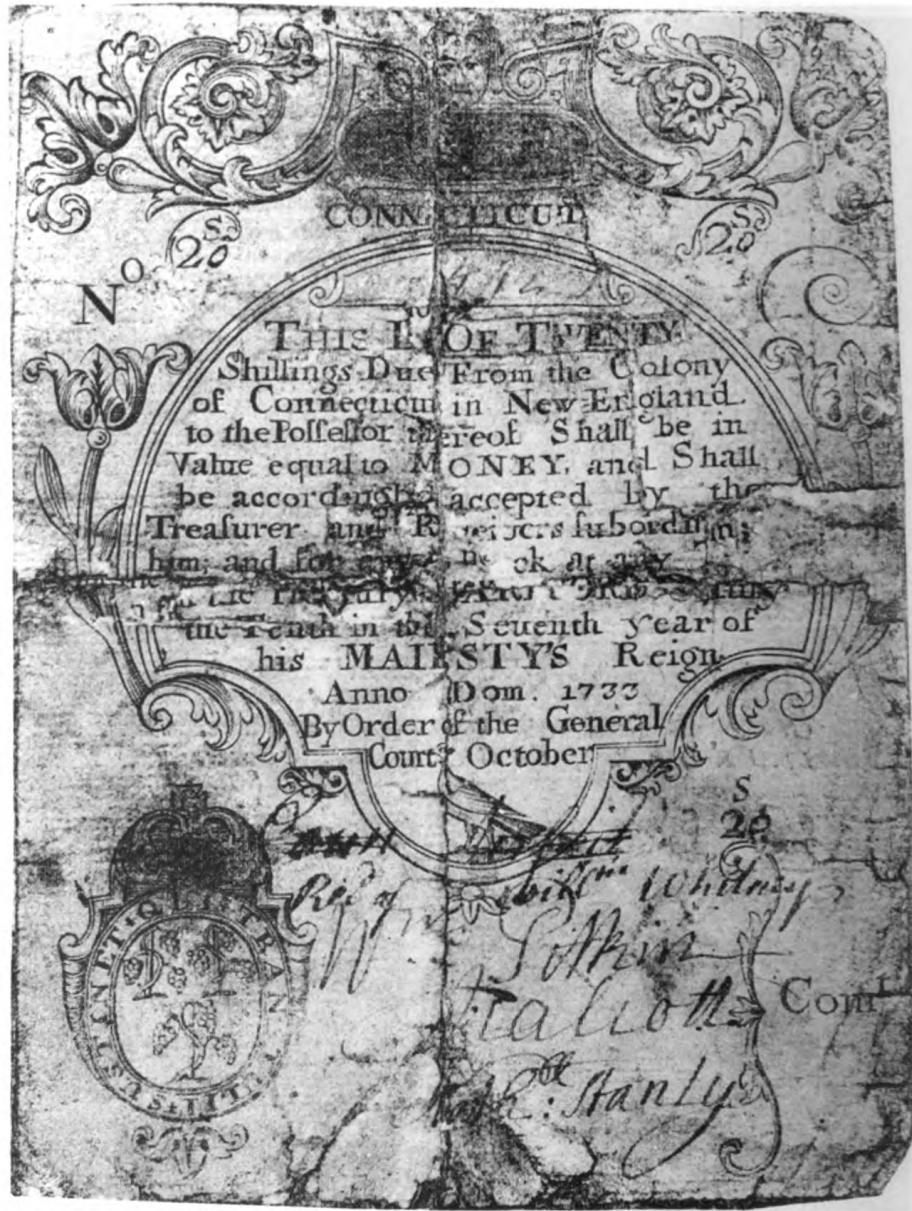


THREE SHILLING SIXPENCE NEW YORK BILL  
ALTERED TO THREE POUNDS BY SAMUEL WOOD



COUNTERFEIT TWO SHILLING SIXPENCE  
NEW HAMPSHIRE BILL OF CAESAR TRICK





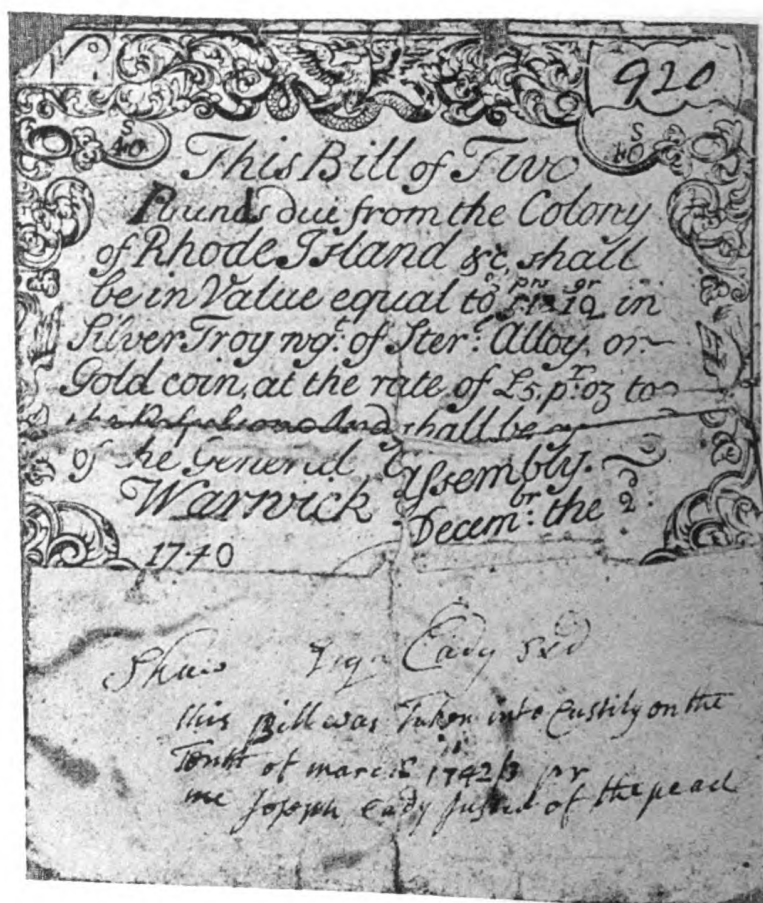
TWO SHILLING CONNECTICUT BILL ALTERED  
TO TWENTY — SWORN ON AMOS ALLEN (Obverse)

For Fear of Thee distrustful Niggards go  
 In tatter'd Rags, and starve their Bodies too ;  
 And still are poor, for fear of being so.  
 For Fear of Thee, the Trader swears and vows  
 His Wares are good, altho' his Conscience knows  
 That he hath us'd his utmost Art and Skill,  
 Their Faults and Imperfections to conceal.  
 The Sailor terrify'd with Thoughts of Thee,  
 Boldly attempts the Dangers of the Sea :  
 From East to West, o'er Rocks and Quick-sands steers,  
 'Tis Poverty, 'tis that alone he fears.  
 The Soldier too, whom naught but Thee can scare,  
 In Hopes of Plunder, bravely meets the War :  
 To fly from Poverty, he runs on Death,  
 And shows he prizes Riches more than Breath.  
 Strange Terror of Mankind ! by Thee misled,  
 Not Conscience, Quick-sands, Rocks or Death they dread ;  
 And yet thou art no formidable Foe,  
 Except to little Souls, who think Thee so.  
 'Tis only the Imagination that  
 The blunted Edge of Poverty can whet.  
 'Tis servile Fear that does affright us most ;  
 'Tis that transforms a Shadow to a Ghost.  
 Thus when a timorous Man, in Fears grown old,  
 Reminds the Fairy Tales his Nurse has told ;  
 In the dark Night he oft will side-ways squint,  
 And sees a Goblin, where there's nothing in't.  
 Contented Poverty's no dismal Thing,  
 Free from the Cares unworldly Riches bring ;  
 At Distance both alike deceive our View,  
 Nearer approach'd, they take another Hue.  
 The Poor Man's Labour relishes his Meat ;  
 His Morsel's pleasant, and his Rest is sweet.  
 The Little, Nature craves, we find with Ease ;  
 Too much but surfeits into a Disease ;  
 And what we have, more than we can enjoy,  
 Instead of satisfying, does but cloy.

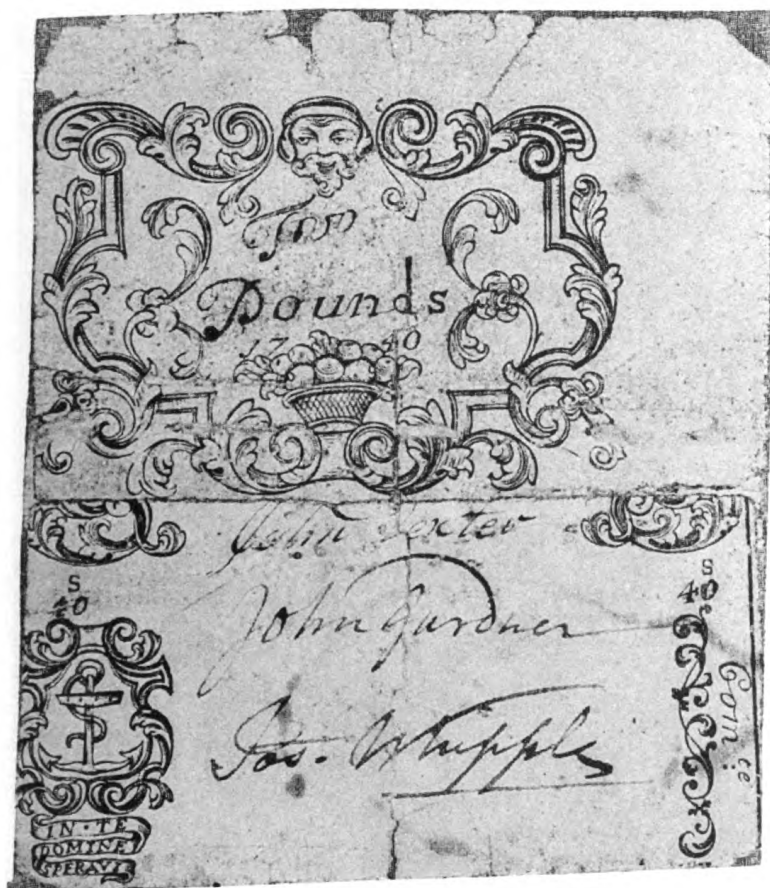
(But

TWO SHILLING CONNECTICUT BILL ALTERED  
 TO TWENTY — SWORN ON AMOS ALLEN (Reverse)

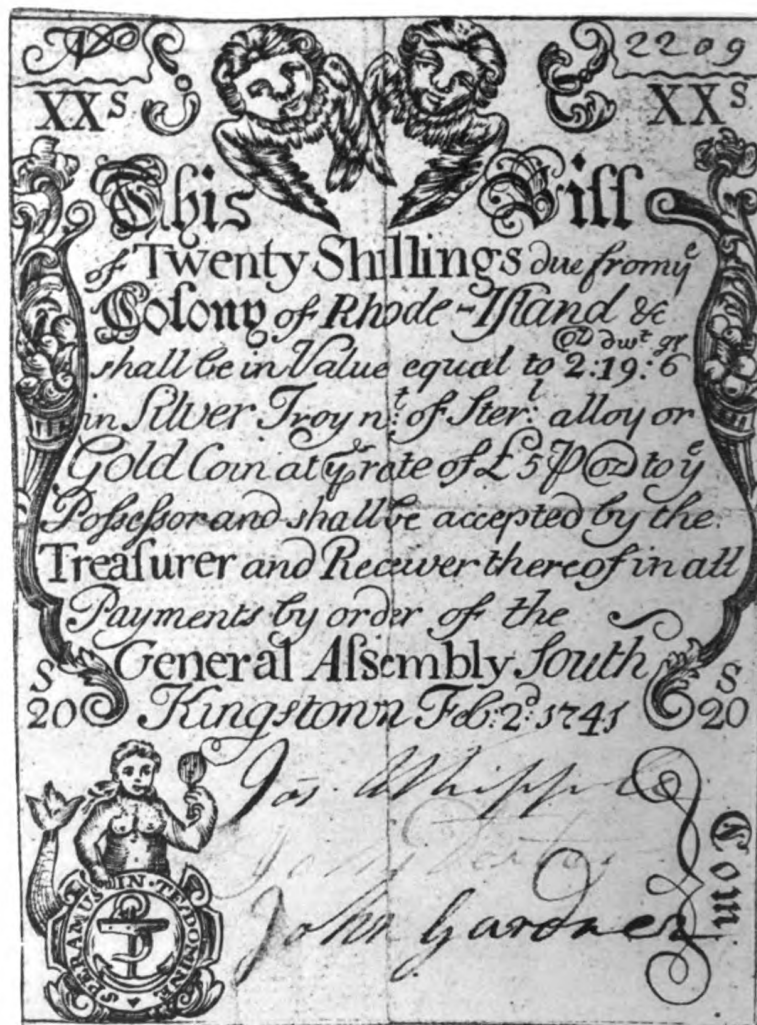




FIVE SHILLING RHODE ISLAND BILL ALTERED TO  
TWO POUNDS — SWORN ON JOSEPH ROBINSON  
(Obverse)



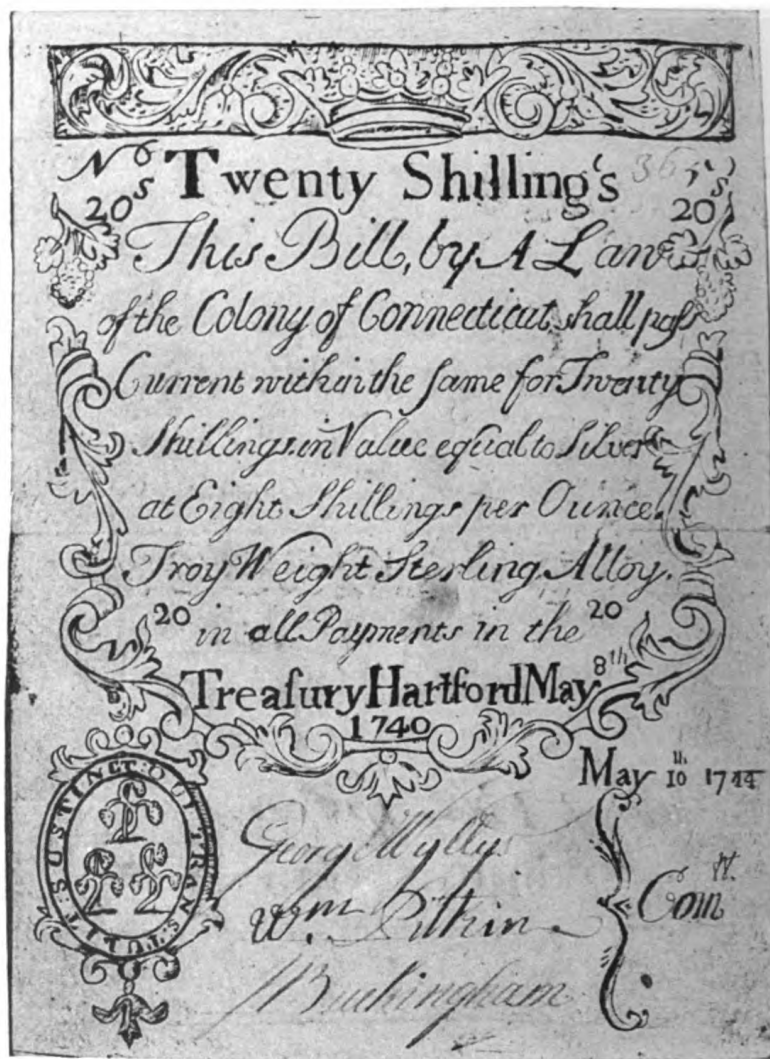
FIVE SHILLING RHODE ISLAND BILL ALTERED TO  
TWO POUNDS — SWORN ON JOSEPH ROBINSON  
(Reverse)



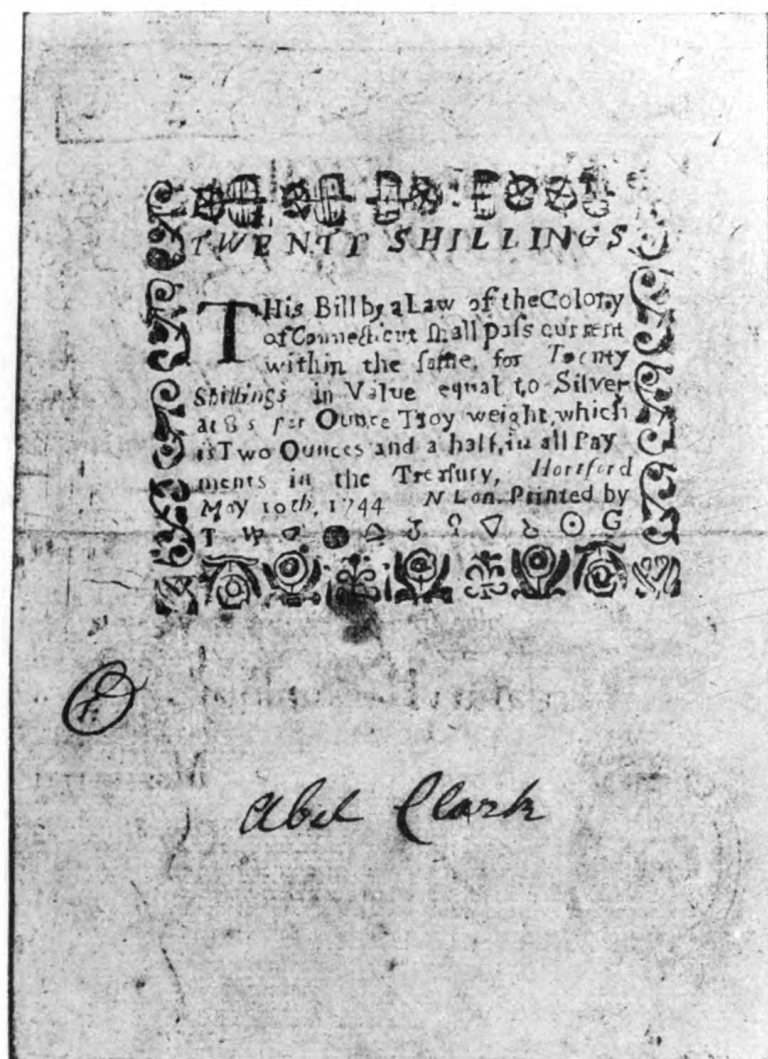
COUNTERFEIT TWENTY SHILLING RHODE ISLAND  
BILL OF THOMAS COOPER (Obverse)



COUNTERFEIT TWENTY SHILLING RHODE ISLAND  
BILL OF THOMAS COOPER (Reverse)



COUNTERFEIT TWENTY SHILLING CONNECTICUT  
 BILL OF ABEL CLARK (Obverse)

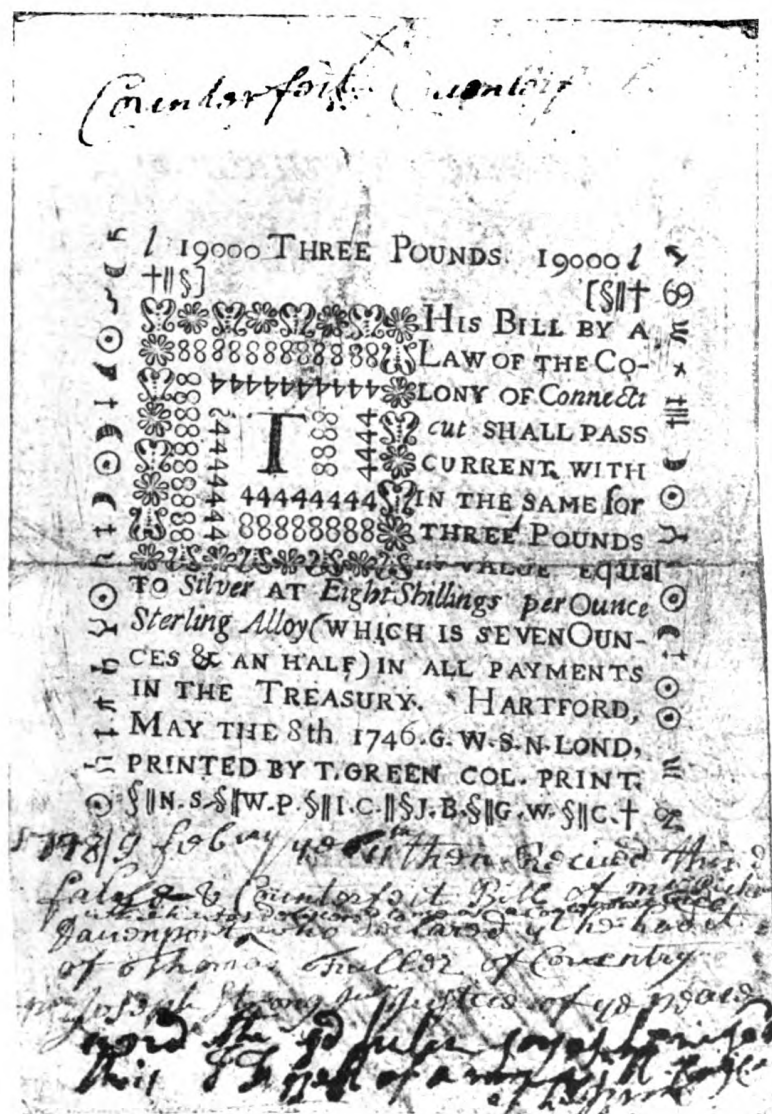


COUNTERFEIT TWENTY SHILLING CONNECTICUT  
BILL OF ABEL CLARK (Reverse)





COUNTERFEIT THREE POUND CONNECTICUT  
BILL OF AARON WILCOX (Obverse)



COUNTERFEIT THREE POUND CONNECTICUT  
BILL OF AARON WILCOX (Reverse)

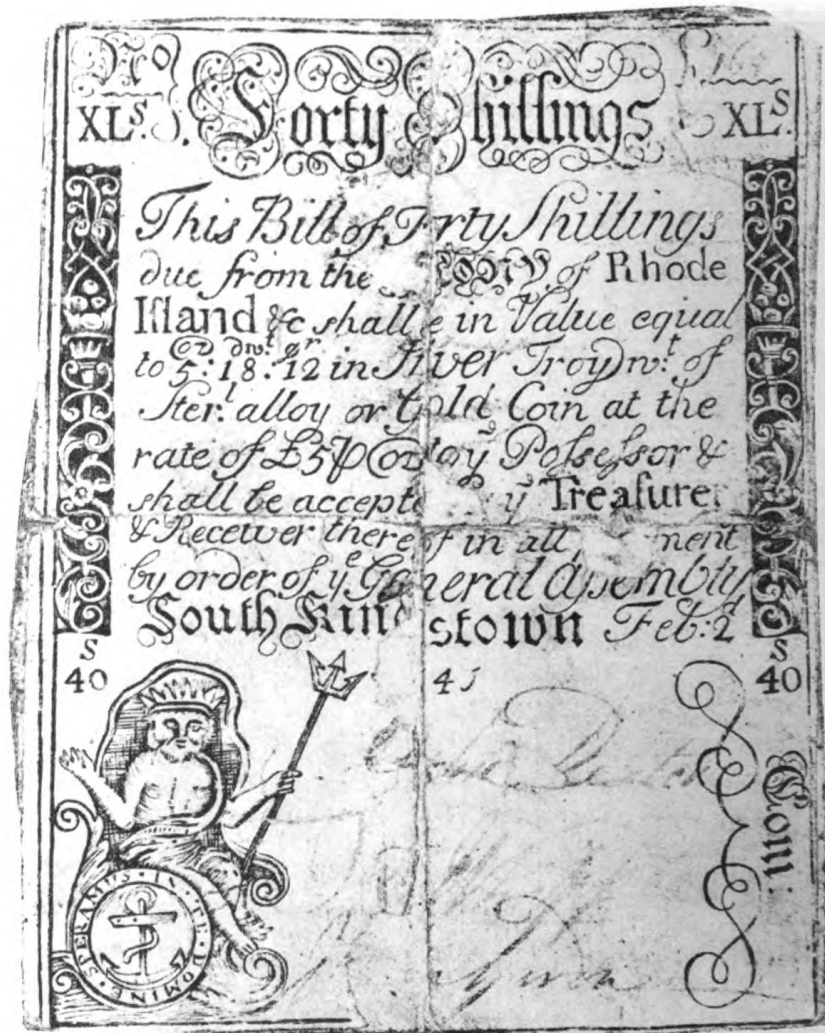




COUNTERFEIT THREE POUND CONNECTICUT  
BILL OF DAVID WILCOX (Obverse)



COUNTERFEIT THREE POUND CONNECTICUT  
BILL OF DAVID WILCOX (Reverse)



COUNTERFEIT FORTY SHILLING RHODE ISLAND  
BILL OF ODEL SQUIRE (Obverse)



COUNTERFEIT FORTY SHILLING RHODE ISLAND  
BILL OF ODEL SQUIRE (Reverse)





COUNTERFEIT FORTY SHILLING RHODE ISLAND  
 BILL OF DAVID OWEN (Obverse)



COUNTERFEIT FORTY SHILLING RHODE ISLAND  
BILL OF DAVID OWEN (Reverse)

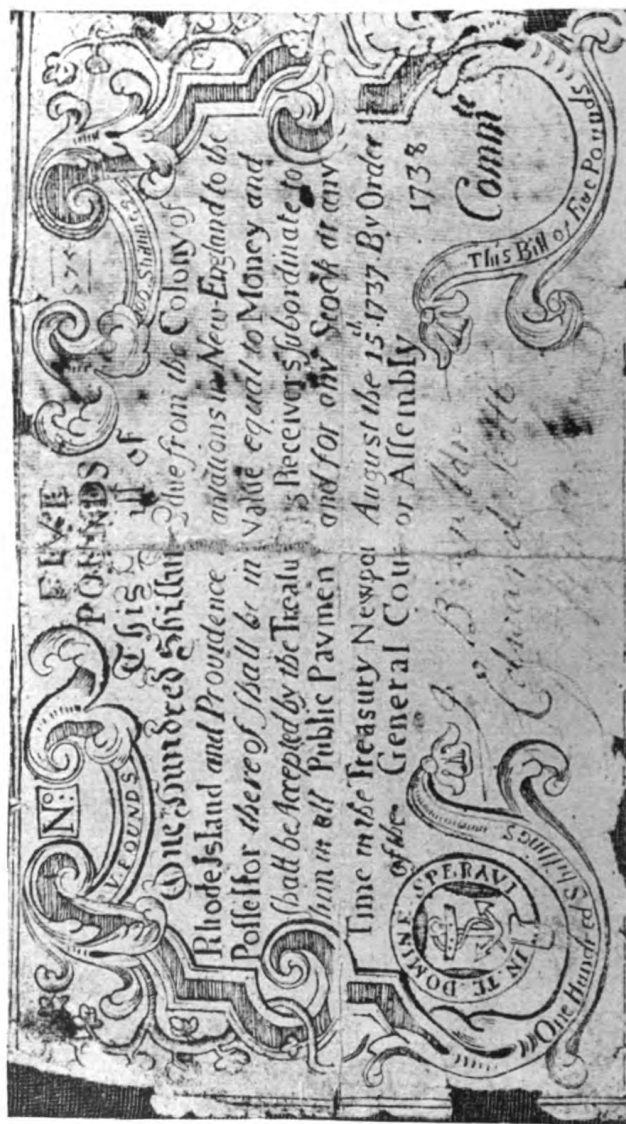


COUNTERFEIT FIVE POUND RHODE ISLAND  
BILL OF EPHRAIM WILCOX (Obverse)

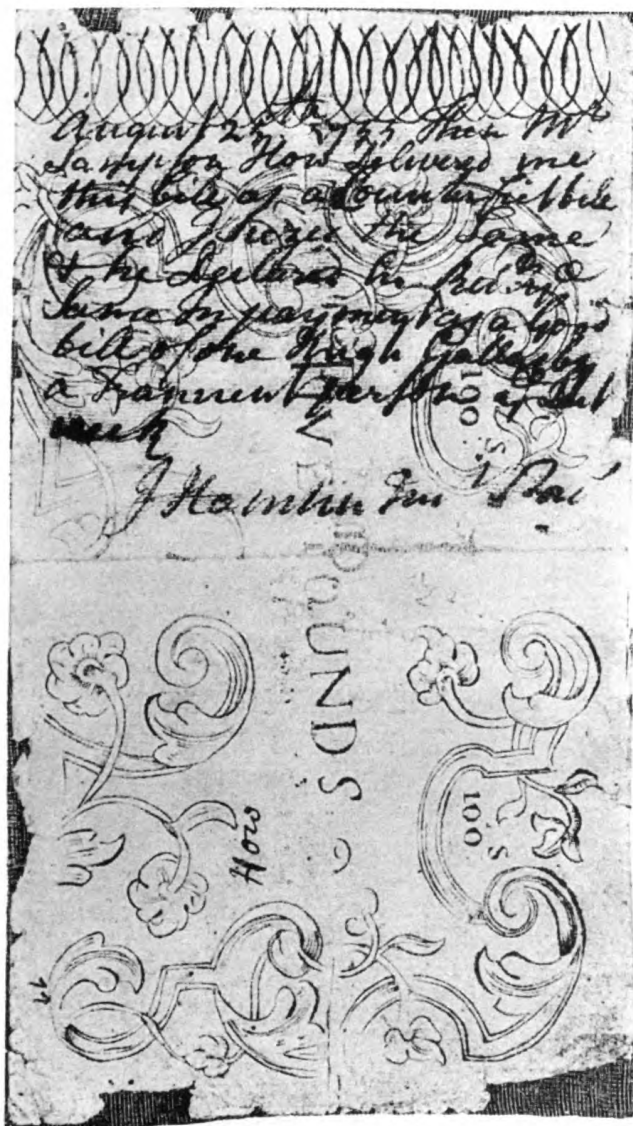


COUNTERFEIT FIVE POUND RHODE ISLAND  
BILL OF EPHRAIM WILCOX (Reverse)

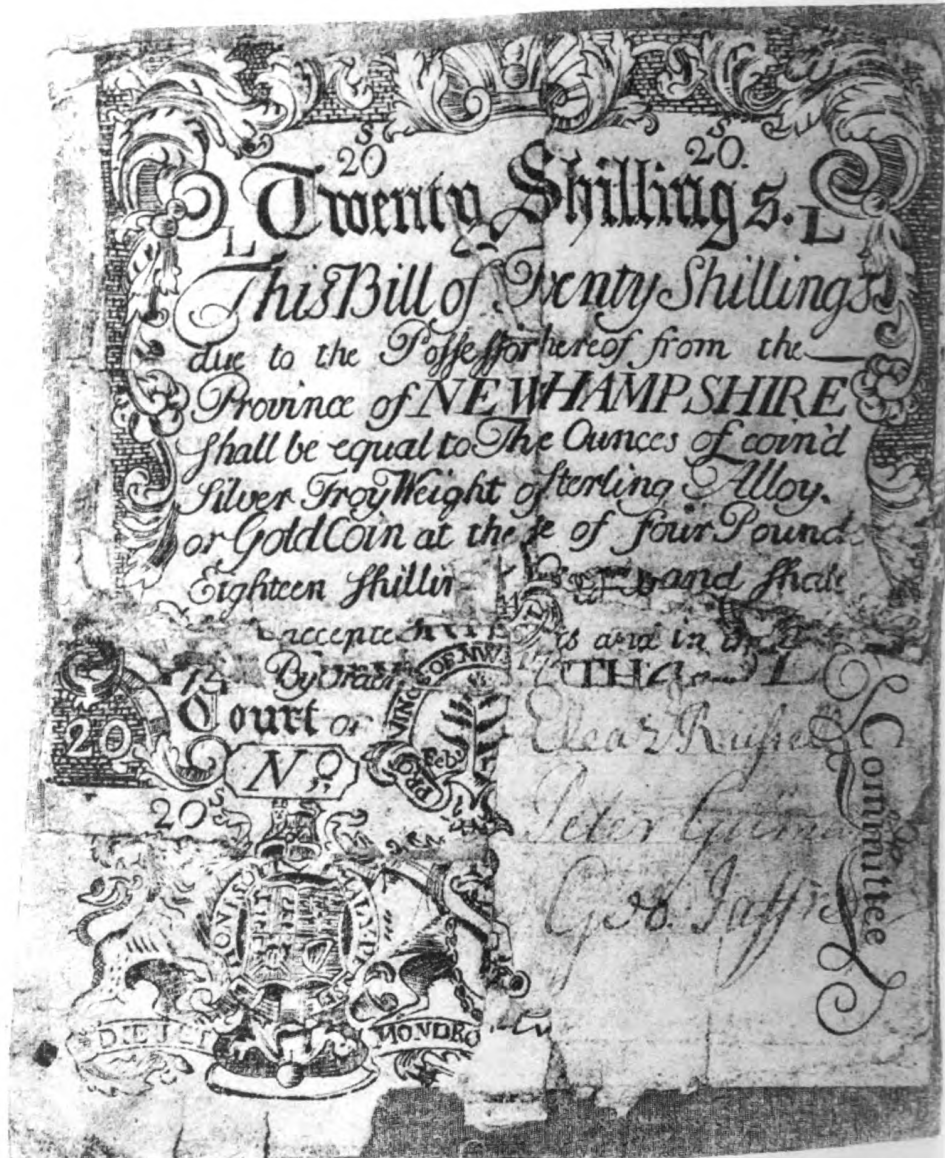




COUNTERFEIT FIVE POUND RHODE ISLAND  
BILL OF HUGH GILLESPIE (Obverse)



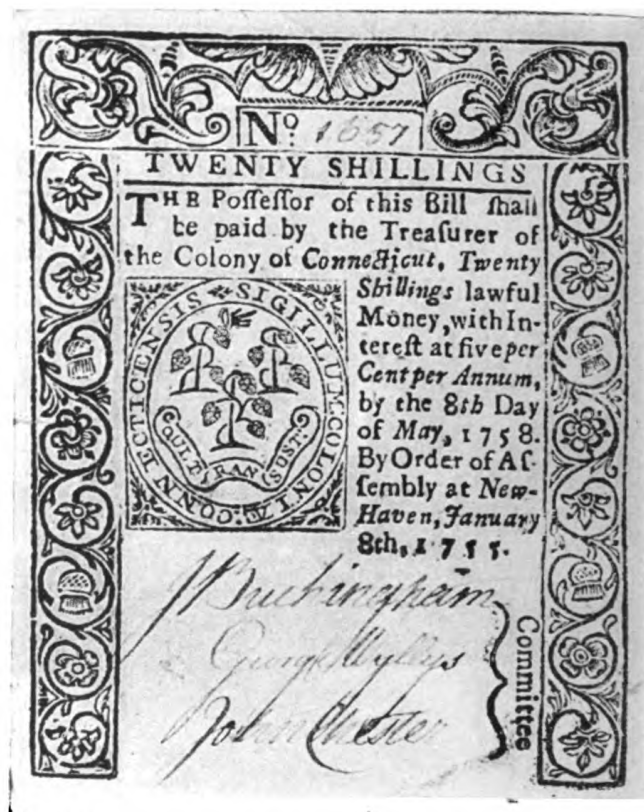
COUNTERFEIT FIVE POUND RHODE ISLAND  
BILL OF HUGH GILLESPIE (Reverse)



COUNTERFEIT TWENTY SHILLING NEW HAMPSHIRE  
BILL INTRODUCED AS EVIDENCE AGAINST  
JOSEPH MUNSEL (Obverse)

Sept. 24<sup>th</sup> 1755  
 Capt. Wright  
 then Joseph Church left  
 Cambridge with the  
 he had it of Samuel  
 of New York  
 Sept. 29<sup>th</sup> 1755  
 that he received this bill of exchange  
 from Samuel Williams  
 to March  
 August 1<sup>st</sup> before me  
 for Isaac J. Pease  
 King's County N.Y.

COUNTERFEIT TWENTY SHILLING NEW HAMPSHIRE  
 BILL INTRODUCED AS EVIDENCE AGAINST  
 JOSEPH MUNSEL (Reverse)



COUNTERFEIT TWENTY SHILLING CONNECTICUT  
BILL OF JOHN CARPENTER (Obverse)



COUNTERFEIT TWENTY SHILLING CONNECTICUT  
BILL OF JOHN CARPENTER (Reverse)



COUNTERFEIT TEN SHILLING CONNECTICUT  
BILL OF JOHN BILL (Obverse)





COUNTERFEIT TEN SHILLING CONNECTICUT  
BILL OF JOHN BILL (Reverse)





NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS ,

No. 141

# CONTRIBUTIONS TO ARABIC METROLOGY

I.

Early Arabic Glass Weights and Measure Stamps  
Acquired by the American Numismatic Society

1951—1956

By GEORGE C. MILES



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
NEW YORK

1958



# THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

*Founded 1858 · Incorporated 1865*

BROADWAY BETWEEN 155TH & 156TH STREETS  
NEW YORK 32, N Y.

**PURPOSES:** The Society was founded for the collection and preservation of coins and medals and for the investigation of their history and other subjects connected therewith.

**MEMBERSHIP:** Applications for membership are welcomed from all interested in numismatics. Inquiries regarding membership should be addressed to the Secretary of the Society.

**DUES:** The annual dues for an Associate Membership are \$7.50. Issues of the *Notes and Monographs*, *Museum Notes*, *Hispanic Numismatic Series*, and *Numismatic Literature* are distributed to all members.

**PUBLICATIONS:** The *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* consist of separately issued papers, each on a single topic, of which two to four numbers appear each year. *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* is a publication, irregular in appearance, consisting of brief notes and papers, principally on items in the Society's collections. *Numismatic Literature* is a quarterly listing current numismatic publications with abstracts of their content. *Numismatic Studies* is a series which accommodates works of full book length. The *Hispanic Numismatic Series*, published in co-operation with the Hispanic Society of America, consists of publications devoted to the coinage of the Iberian Peninsula, and is based on the collections of the Hispanic Society.

**MUSEUM:** The Society maintains a museum located in uptown Manhattan, New York City, which houses its offices, collections and library. Collections embrace coins of all periods from their inception to modern times, medals and decorations. Selections from its cabinets are on display in an exhibition. The library, consisting of about 17,000 volumes, covers all branches of numismatics.

The Museum is open to Members and the public on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays. It is closed on Sundays and Mondays and the following holidays: New Year's Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Election Day, Thanksgiving Day and Christmas Day. The hours of the Library are from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. The public exhibition is open from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

*Number 141*

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS  
is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating  
to coins, paper money, medals and decorations.

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# Contributions to Arabic Metrology

## I.

Early Arabic Glass Weights and Measure Stamps  
Acquired by the American Numismatic Society  
1951–1956

By GEORGE C. MILES



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
NEW YORK  
1958

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**PRINTED IN GERMANY  
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## FOREWORD

The present little volume is in one sense a continuation of two earlier publications in the *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* series, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps* (NNM, No. 111, N.Y., 1948) and *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps: A Supplement* (NNM, No. 120, N.Y., 1951); in another sense it is the beginning of a new enterprise. During the past seven years I have had the good fortune to examine a large number of these early Arabic metrological objects and my files are now sufficiently extensive to bring within possible focus the contemplation of a fairly complete corpus of 8th and 9th century Egyptian Arabic glass weights and measure stamps. Before undertaking this comprehensive treatment, however, it would seem desirable to bring out in a series of detailed catalogues, such as the present, the individual collections which I have been able to examine. When these, and perhaps others in private or public collections, have been made available through publications (with, I hope, the collaboration of other students), a thorough corpus, accompanied by an analysis of the data which these objects provide for our understanding of historical metrology, might be put together.

This plan envisages the description of at least seven collections and of a good many scattered pieces. Aside from the new accessions of the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, herewith presented, I have in mind the publication of two other collections in the United States, of three in Egypt and of one in Athens. A part of the great collection in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo has recently been described, but there remains a mass of material in that museum which one hopes will eventually be published.



Mme Launois, the compiler of the partial Cairo catalogue, intimates that she is currently engaged in the publication of the collection in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris. The important Llewelyn-Phillips collection in the British Museum awaits description. Meanwhile let us hope that M. M. Jungfleisch will bring out a catalogue of his great collection, without which any corpus would have serious shortcomings.<sup>1</sup>

Since the appearance of *NNM* Nos. 111 and 120, named above, the American Numismatic Society has acquired nearly 300 early Arabic glass weights and stamps, and these are catalogued in the present volume. The number of pieces described in the two earlier monographs was approximately 260, so it will be observed that these new accessions exceed the total already published by this Society. Among the present lot no less than 80 are of previously unpublished types, and some introduce hitherto unrecorded officials' names. No. 201, a weight of the Ṭulūnid Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad, carries the record for the first time down into the fourth quarter of the 9th century (3rd century of the Hijrah), and, if nos. 260–261 are correctly attributed, down to the year 288 A.H. (901 A.D.). Among the pharmaceutical measure stamps there are several with hitherto unrecorded or unidentified medicinals: figs (no. 12), honey (no. 13), jujube (nos. 63–64), whey? (no. 85), and dried pomegranate (nos. 117–119).

The plan of the catalogue follows fairly closely that established in *NNM* No. 111, but the categorization of specifically unattributable pieces is somewhat different. The arrangement is as follows:

- I. Umayyad officials, chronologically (nos. 1–95).
- II. 'Abbāsid officials, chronologically (nos. 96–197)
- III. Ṭulūnids, chronologically (nos. 198–201).

<sup>1</sup> While reading the proofs of these pages I learned with sorrow of the death of M. Jungfleisch in Cairo on March 12, 1958. His collection, I am told, has been dispersed.

- IV. Unidentified officials, alphabetically (nos. 202–210).
- V. Anonymous coin weights (nos. 211–238).
  - A. “Al Muḥammad.”
  - B. Pious phrases only.
  - C. Standard.
- VI. Anonymous and unidentified disk-weights (nos. 239–251).
- VII. Anonymous and unidentified ring-weights (nos. 252–261).
- VIII. Anonymous vessel stamps (nos. 262–280).
- IX. Undeciphered vessel stamps (nos. 281–292).

Within categories I–IV the pieces of each official are arranged in the following order: coin weights, disk-weights, ring-weights, vessel stamps. Within each sub-division of category V, the arrangement is in descending order of weight. So also with categories VI and VII. Category VIII is arranged alphabetically (Arabic) by seed or substance. Translations of inscriptions are omitted when a similar type has appeared in *EAG* or *EAG Suppl.* In the physical description of the pieces the diameter (in millimeters) is given first, immediately after the color of the glass, followed by the weight (in grams).

These new accessions have come to the Museum of the American Numismatic Society from a number of different sources. The numerals following the letters ANS (after color, diameter and weight) are museum accession numbers, the key to which is as follows:<sup>1a</sup>

- 46.134 Gift of the late Louis H. Schroeder
- 48.98 Gift of the late Louis H. Schroeder (purchased from an antique dealer in New York)
- 50.40 Gift of Mrs. Edward T. Newell
- 50.170 Purchased from an antique dealer in New York

<sup>1a</sup> It will be noted that a few pieces were acquired before 1951 but were not included in *NNM* Nos. 111 and 120.

- 51.119 Gift of the late M. Jungfleisch, Cairo  
52.84 Purchased at auction in New York  
53.49 Gift of J. M. Eisenberg, New York  
53.50 Gift of the late Louis H. Schroeder (purchased in New York)  
53.123 Gift of J. M. Eisenberg, New York  
54.14 Gift of M. M. Salton, New York  
54.15 Purchased in New York  
54.154 Gift of Phocion J. Tano, Cairo  
54.155 Gift of the late M. Jungfleisch, Cairo  
54.157 Gift of the late Louis H. Schroeder (purchased from an antique dealer in Cairo)  
54.158 Purchased from antique dealers in Cairo  
54.159 Gift of the late Louis H. Schroeder (purchased from an antique dealer in Cairo)  
54.160 Gift of Prof. A. S. Atiya, Cairo  
54.161 Purchased from an antique dealer in Cairo  
54.164 Gift of Lucas Benachi, Alexandria (Egypt)  
54.168 Purchased from an antique dealer in Cairo  
54.175 Purchased from antique dealers in Cairo  
54.184 Gift of E. C. Anawati, Alexandria (Egypt)  
54.196 Gift of M. M. Salton, New York  
54.199 Purchased in New York  
55.86 Gift of M. M. Salton, New York  
55.141 Purchased from a dealer in London  
55.145 Gift of E. Zygmán, New York  
56.8 Gift of the late Louis H. Schroeder (part of a collection originally formed in Cairo)  
56.98 Gift of J. A. Yockers, New York  
56.163 Gift of F. C. C. Boyd, New Jersey  
56.164 Gift of J. A. Yockers, New York  
56.176 Gift of M. M. Salton, New York

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Ahmed Issa: Ahmed Issa Bey, *Dictionnaire des noms des plantes en latin, français, anglais et arabe*, Cairo, 1930.
- Allport: Noel L. Allport, *The Chemistry and Pharmacy of Vegetable Drugs*, Brooklyn, 1944.
- Bedevian: A. K. Bedevian, *Illustrated Polyglottic Dictionary of Plant Names*, Cairo, 1936.
- Bergmann, *Nominale*: E. von Bergmann, "Die Nominale der Münzreform des Chalifen Abdumelik," in *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Cl. der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, LXV (Wien, 1870), pp. 239-266.
- BM: Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weights in the British Museum* (London, 1891).
- Cairo: A. Launois, *Estampilles et poids faibles en verre omeyyades et abbassides au Musée Arabe du Caire* (Extrait des *Mélanges Islamologiques*, III, Cairo, 1956).
- Dioscorides: *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides*. The edition used is Robert T. Gunther's re-edition of the early English translation of John Goodyer, Oxford, 1934.
- Dispensatory*: *The Dispensatory of the United States of America*, 25th ed., Philadelphia, 1955.
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- Grieve: M. Grieve, *A Modern Herbal*, New York, 1931.
- Grohmann: Adolf Grohmann, "Arabische Eichungsstempel, Glasgewichte und Amulette aus Wiener Sammlungen," in *Islamica*, I (1925), pp. 145-226.
- Grohmann, *Papyruskunde*: Adolf Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde* (Monografie Archivu Orientalného, XIII/I, Prague, 1955).
- Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ: George C. Miles, "A glass Measure issued by Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ," in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, II (Rome, 1956), pp. 148-158.
- Ibn al-Bayṭār: *Kitāb al-jāmi' li-mufradāt al-adwiyah wa'l-Aghdhiyah*, transl. L. Leclerc, in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Vols. 23<sup>1</sup>, 25<sup>1</sup> and 26<sup>1</sup>, Paris, 1877-1883).
- Jungfleisch, *Notations conventionnelles*: M. Jungfleisch, "Notations conventionnelles se rencontrant sur certains poids arabes en verre," in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXXII (Cairo, 1950), pp. 257-274.
- Jungfleisch, *Ratls discoïdes*: M. Jungfleisch, "Les ratls discoïdes en verre," in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, X (Cairo, 1929), pp. 61-71.
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Other references are cited in full where they occur.

## I. Umayyad Officials

*A. Qurrah b. Sharīk*

Governor, 90–96 A.H.: 709–714 A.D.

### COIN WEIGHT

#### I. *One-half dīnār.*

امرالا  
ميرقرة  
بميزن نصف  
واف

Ordered the a-  
mīr Qurrah:  
weight of one-half,  
full weight.

Pale blue-green, 22; 2.14.  
ANS 53.123

PLATE I

Unpublished. Cf. *EAG*, 1, with a different legend.

### VESSEL STAMPS

#### 2. *One-half ratl of grease.*

.....  
مر الامير  
رة نصف  
رطل دهن

Green, 29 × 26 +, chipped at right.  
ANS 54.175

Similar to *EAG*, 2.

I

3. *One-quarter qisṭ.*

امر الامير  
قرعة ربع  
قسط  
واف

Blue-green, 30.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 3.

*B. Usāmah b. Zayd*

Finance Director, 96–99 A.H.: 714–717 A.D.

Interim Governor, 102 A.H.: 720–721 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHTS

4.–5. *One-half dīnār.*

\*  
امر اسا  
مة بن زيد  
ميزان نصف  
واف

Order of Usā-  
mah b. Zayd:  
weight of one-half,  
full weight.

4. Green, 22; 2.13.  
ANS 56.8

5. Very pale blue, 22; 2.14.  
ANS 54.161

PLATE I

Unpublished. Cf. *BM*, 2, and *Cairo*, 11, with different legend.

6. *Fals of 14 qīrāṭ.*

امر اسامة  
بن زيد ميزان  
فلس اربعة  
(sic) عشر قيرطا

Order of Usāmah  
b. Zayd: weight of  
*fals* of four-  
teen *qīrāṭ*.

Pale green, 26; 2.74.  
ANS 53.123

PLATE I

Similar to *Fouquet Coll.*, 20, in part incorrectly transcribed.

## DISK-WEIGHT

7. *One-half (ratl?)*.

..... امر ا	Ordered U[sā]-
..... مة بن	mah b. [Zayd]:
..... بنصف	one-half .....
.....	.....

Green, frg. (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  ?), 75+; thickness, 16; 59.70+.  
ANS 51.119

Unpublished.

## VESSEL STAMPS

8.-9. *One-half qist*.

امر ا	Order of U-
سامة بن ز	sāmah b. Za-
* د نصف	[y]d: one-half
قسط وافي	<i>qist</i> , full measure.

8. Green, 36.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE I

9. Green, 37.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *University College*, 89-90; *Cairo*, 3-4.

10.-11. *One-quarter qist*.

امر ا	Order of U-
سامة بن ز	sāmah b. Za-
يد ربع قسط	yd: one-quarter <i>qist</i> ,
* وافي	full measure.



10. Green, 40 (frg. lacking).

ANS 53.50

11. Green, 30.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *University College*, 91.

### C. Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ

Finance Director, ca. 99–101 A.H.: 717–720 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

#### VESSEL STAMPS

12. *Qisṭ of figs.*

امر حيان  
بن شريح  
بقسط تين  
واف

Ordered Ḥayyān  
b. Shurayḥ:  
*qisṭ* of *tīn*,  
full measure.

Green, 34.

ANS 56.8

PLATE 1

Unpublished. The word following *qisṭ* on this stamp presented a problem of decipherment. The three letters offer 75 possible different combinations (five possibilities for the first letter, five for the second, and three for the third). However, of these combinations only a few spell recognizable words, and of the latter only two or three have acceptable meanings in the context. Of these by all odds the most likely is *tīn*, “fig”; especially in view of the function of the fig in the mediaeval and ancient *materia medica*. Lane translates the classical Arabic definition of the fig’s medicinal properties:<sup>3</sup> “...a very useful medicine, for it has a laxative property, dissolves phlegm, purifies the kidneys, removes sand of the

<sup>2</sup> For the dates of Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ, see *EAG*, pp. 74–75; a preliminary corpus of his weights and measures is given in my article, *Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ* (see bibliography), pp. 151–153.

<sup>3</sup> Lane, I, p. 325; cf. for the word itself, Bedevian, p. 276, no. 1617, Ahmed Issa, p. 83, Mohammad Sharaf, p. 314, Schweinfurth, p. 84, Muschler, pp. 246–247.

bladder, opens obstructions of the liver and spleen, and fattens the body," etc. In classical Greek times the fig, *Ficus Carica*, especially when dried, was recommended for a wide variety of ailments, including throat, tonsil, lung, kidney and bladder troubles; it was reputed to be effective in coagulating milk, stopping ringing in the ears, as a poultice for gout, leprosy, running sores, toothache and poisonous bites.<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Bayṭār repeats the enumeration of these properties and adds others on the authority of mediaeval Arabic medical writers.<sup>5</sup> In modern times the fig is recognized by the herbalists and even in the *Dispensatory* as a useful constituent of many proprietary laxatives, and as a demulcent and emollient.<sup>6</sup> As long ago as the time of Hezekiah it was used as a remedy for boils.<sup>7</sup>

### 13. *Qist of honey*.<sup>8</sup>

امر حبان	Order of Ḥayyān
بن شرح	b. Shurayḥ:
قسط	<i>qist</i>
العسل	of <i>al-ʿasal</i> ,
ف....	[full] measure.

Green, 40 × 37.  
ANS 54.159

PLATE I

Honey, Arabic *ʿasal*,<sup>9</sup> is new to our list of glass pharmaceutical measure stamps. That it had a legitimate place in the old *materia medica* is testified to by its mention by Dioscorides as a remedy for ulcers, pain in the nose and ears, inflammation of the throat, tonsils, etc.; it also was

<sup>4</sup> Dioscorides, Bk. I, 183 (Gunther, pp. 90–91).

<sup>5</sup> Ibn al-Bayṭār, Vol. 23<sup>1</sup>, pp. 326–327, no. 439.

<sup>6</sup> *Dispensatory*, p. 1691; Grieve, I, pp. 311–313; Allport, pp. 115, 228; Lloyd, p. 138.

<sup>7</sup> Isaiah, XXXVIII, 21.

<sup>8</sup> Listed in Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ, p. 152, no. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Lane, I, p. 2046.

reputed to kill lice;<sup>10</sup> and Ibn al-Bayṭār lists other ailments for which honey was alleged to be useful, e.g., facial tics and, when mixed with vinegar, tooth decay.<sup>11</sup> Although these properties are no longer recognized, it is of interest to note that honey has its uses in modern pharmacology: it is “often more acceptable to the stomach, especially in ailing persons, than cane sugar,” and it also is employed as a flavoring agent in gargles, as an excipient for preparing pills and masses, and as an ingredient of the formerly official mercury mass, where it served to facilitate the dispersion of metallic mercury.<sup>12</sup>

14. *One-half qisṭ of olive oil.*

امر حيان  
بن شريح  
نصف قسط  
... يت وا  
[ف؟]

Pale green, 33.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 9.

15. *One-quarter qisṭ of olive oil.*<sup>13</sup>

امر حيان	Order of Ḥayyān
بن شريح ر	b. Shurayḥ: quar-
بع قسط ز	ter <i>qisṭ</i> of olive
ت وان	oil, full measure.

Green, 34 × 33.  
ANS 54.161

PLATE I

Variant of *EAG*, 10, and *University College*, 92.

<sup>10</sup> Dioscorides, Bk. II, 101 (Gunther, pp. 124–125).

<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-Bayṭār, Vol. 25<sup>1</sup>, pp. 445–447, no. 1542.

<sup>12</sup> *Dispensatory*, pp. 653–654; cf. Allport, pp. 104, 199, for other uses.

<sup>13</sup> Listed in *Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ*, p. 152, no. 9.

16. *One-quarter qist of ointment.*

امر حبان	Order of Ḥayyān
بن شريح	b. Shurayḥ:
ربع قسط	quarter <i>qist</i>
.. لطلا وا	of [a]l-ṭilā', full
ف	measure.

Green, 32.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE I

Unpublished, but for *al-ṭilā'*, "ointment," cf. *EAG*, pp. 28, 72, and *EAG Suppl.*, p. 49.

17. *Uncertain measure.*

امر حبان	Order of Ḥayyān
بن شريح	b. Shurayḥ:
ر هر للا...	.....
واف	full measure.

Green, 24.  
ANS 53.123

PLATE I

Unpublished. The third line appears to be quite legible, but unfortunately I can make nothing of it. The tail of the *fā'* in the last line turns back to the right.

D. *The Caliph Yazīd II*

101–105 A.H.: 720–724 A.D.

## VESSEL STAMPS

18. *Qist.*

.....	.....
عبد ال..	The Servant of God,
يزيد....	Yazīd.....:
قسط واف	<i>qist</i> , full measure.

2 Miles

Green, 26 × 22 (fragmentary).  
ANS 54.164

The reading is by no means certain.

19.–22. *One-quarter qist of olive oil.*<sup>14</sup>

امر عبد الله	Order of the Servant of God,
يزيد امير المؤمنين	Yazīd, Commander of the Faith-
منين ربع قسط	ful: quarter <i>qist</i>
زيت واف على	of olive oil, full measure, at
يدي حبان بن	the hands of Ḥayyān b.
يح . . . .	[Shur]ayḥ.

19. Pale green, 35 × 40.  
ANS 54.14

20. Green, 43 × 40 (chipped at bottom).  
ANS 54.159

21. Pale green, 37 × 36 (chipped at top).  
ANS 54.161

22. Green, 39.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE I

The transcription is composite: the legend is not completely preserved on any one specimen.

Cf. *EAG Suppl.*, 7, where Ḥayyān's name is lacking (off the stamp), but probably the same as these; also *University College*, 86, also lacking Ḥayyān's name. In all cases the die is actually too large for the glass stamp, and hence Ḥayyān's name is never completely preserved. These pieces are important in that they clearly establish the identity of Yazīd as being Yazīd II.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Three of these specimens are listed in *Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ*, p. 151, nos. 4–6.

<sup>15</sup> See the discussion in *EAG Suppl.*, p. 8.

E. 'Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb

Finance Director, 102–106 A.H.: 720–734 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

23. *One-half dīnār.*

بسم الله  
مما امر به عبيد  
الله بن الحبحاب  
ب ميزان نصف  
و اف \*

In the name of Allāh:  
among those things ordered by 'Ubayd-  
ullāh b. al-Ḥabḥā-  
b: weight of a half,  
full weight.

Pale blue-green, 22; 2.11.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE I

Unpublished, but cf. Bergmann, *Nominale*, p. 262, referring  
to Castiglioni (with مثقال نصف و اف).

24. *Fals of 34 qīrāt.*

بسم الله  
امر عبيد الله  
بن الحبحاب \*  
بمثقال فلس وزن (٣)  
اربعة وثلاثين  
قيراط و ا  
ف \*

In the name of Allāh:  
ordered 'Ubaydullāh  
b. al-Ḥabḥāb:  
weight of *fals*, weight  
thirty-four  
*qīrāt*, full wei-  
ght.

Green, 33; 6.56.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE I

Unpublished. This weight of 34 *qīrāt* (a new one),<sup>16</sup> agrees  
quite well with the theoretical weight (6.888 grams) set forth  
in the table, *EAG*, p. 10.

<sup>16</sup> M. Marcel Jungfleisch wrote me in 1952 that he had a weight oi 34  
*qīrāt* of 'Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb (probably similar to this), weighing  
6.53 grams.

25. *Fals of 24 kharrūbah.*

بسم الله  
 امر عبيد ا  
 لله بن الحجاب  
 بمقال فلس  
 اربعة وعشرين  
 خروبة وا  
 ف

In the name of Allāh:  
 ordered ‘Ubaydu-  
 llāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb:  
 weight of *fals*  
 of twenty-four  
*kharrūbah*, full wei-  
 ght.

Green, 31; 4.67.  
 ANS 56.8

PLATE I

Cf. *Cairo*, 45–47, with ✱ at the left of the fourth line.

26. *Fals of 20 qīrāt.*

بسم الله  
 امر عبيد ا  
 لله ابن الحجاب  
 مثقال فلس عشر  
 بن قيرط

In the name of Allāh:  
 order of ‘Ubaydu-  
 llāh ibn al-Ḥabḥāb:  
 weight of *fals* of twen-  
 ty *qīrāt*.

Green, 28; 3.95.  
 ANS 56.8

PLATE II

Similar to *Cairo*, 49; cf. *EAG*, 12, with a different ar-  
 rangement of the lines.

27. *Fals of 20 qīrāt.*

بسم الله  
 امر عبيد الله  
 بن الحجاب  
 بمقال فلس  
 عشرين قيرط

Dark emerald green (unusual color), 28; 4.00.  
 ANS 56.8

PLATE II

Cf. *EAG*, 12, with ابن and with قيرط ط on a separate line.

28. (*Fals of 19 qīrāt?*).

عبد	‘Ubayd-
الله بن	ullāh b.
الحجاب	al-Ḥabḥāb.

Green, 25; 3.78.

ANS 56.163

PLATE II

Unpublished. This is a curious piece, bearing no executive phrase or denomination. It is of irregular shape and thickness. If it is a systematic coin weight it would approximate that of 19 *qīrāt*.

29. *Fals of 18 kharrūbah.*

بما امر	Among those things ordered by
عبد الله ابن ا	‘Ubaydullāh ibn a-
الحجاب مثقال فلس	l-Ḥabḥāb: weight of <i>fals</i>
ثمانية عشر	of eighteen
خروبة	<i>kharrūbah</i> .
ن	

Green, 26; 3.67 (broken, mended, nearly complete).

ANS 53.123

PLATE II

Similar to *Cairo*, 54–56; cf. *University College*, 100–101, with ا between ثمانية and عشر.<sup>17</sup>

30. *One-half fals of 15 qīrāt.*

بسم الله  
امر عبد الله  
بن الحجاب مثقا  
ل نصف فلس  
خمس عشر  
قيراط وا  
ف

<sup>17</sup> This is not necessarily an error: cf. Grohmann, *Papyruskunde*, p. 105, for the spelling امشر in papyri.



Green, 26; 2.93.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 14, where the final ف is not clear; and to *Cairo*, 57, with error in transcription.

31. "Part" of 12 *kharrūbah*.

بسم الله  
امر عبيد الله  
بن الحجاب مثقال  
شطر اثني عشر  
ة خروبة و  
اف

Green, 24; 2.27.

ANS 56.8

PLATE II

Similar to *EAG*, 15–16, where وافي was misread as وزن (?); also *University College*, 102. In *EAG*, pp. 27 and 76, I read the word preceding the denomination as *saṭr*, "row, series"; I now propose as much more probable *shaṭr*, "half" or "part".<sup>18</sup>

DISK-WEIGHT

32. *Wuqīyah*.

..... بسم	In the name of .....
..... امر عب	ordered 'Ub.....
..... بن الحب	b. al-Ḥab.....
..... صنعوه	the making of it: <i>wu</i> ...
..... يوروا	— — —, full.....

Green, 54 × 28+ (somewhat more than one half of weight preserved); 16.02+.

ANS 54.14

PLATE II

Unpublished. I assume that the fourth line is to be completed, *wuqīyah*; the meaning of ور (if indeed the word begins on this last line) escapes me. Probably وافية follows.

<sup>18</sup> Lane, I, p. 1551.

There are two other published disk-weights of ‘Ubaydullāh’s: *EAG*, 24, a possible *ratl*; and *EAG Suppl.*, p. 7 (Mabbott Collection), a possible half-*ratl*.

## VESSEL STAMPS

33. *Qist*.

بما امر  
به عبيد الله  
ابن الحباب  
قسط وا  
ف

Among those things ordered  
by ‘Ubaydullāh  
ibn al-Ḥabḥāb:  
*qist*, full  
measure.

Green, 38.

ANS 54.14

PLATE II

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 103, and Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, p. 15, except that both these have بن, not ابن.

34. *Qist*.

بسم الله  
امر عبيد الله ...  
الحباب قس ...  
ف ...

In the name of Allāh:  
order of ‘Ubaydullāh...  
al-Ḥabḥāb: *qis*[t],  
[full] measure.

Green, 33 × 30.

ANS 54.159

Unpublished.

35. *Qist of olive oil*.

بسم الله  
امر عبيد الله  
.. الحباب قسط ..  
يت وا  
ف

In the name of Allāh:  
order of ‘Ubaydullāh  
.. al-Ḥabḥāb: *qist*  
of [o]live oil, full  
measure.

Green, 34.

ANS 56.8

PLATE II

Similar to *University College*, 107; cf. *Fouquet Collection*, 108, where the disposition of lines is not indicated.

36. *One-half qist*.

بما امر به  
عبيد الله ا  
... الحجاب  
... نصف قد

Green, 35 × 32.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 18; and cf. *Fouquet Collection*, 104–105, where the disposition of lines is not indicated.

37. *One-half qist*. III A.H.: 729/30 A.D.

بسم الله  
امر عبيد الله  
... بن الحجاب بسمه (sic)  
قسط وان ع...  
يدي جنادة بن...  
ميسرة سنة...  
حدى عشرة...

In the name of Allāh:  
ordered ‘Ubaydullā..  
b. al-Ḥabḥāb the mak[ing of it]:  
*qist*, full measure; at  
the hands of Junādah b. ...  
Maysarah, year [el]-  
even .....

Green, 49.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE II

Unpublished. This stamp is important in that the first name of the prefect is well preserved, and we are now able to correct the reading of some other pieces issued by the same man. A re-examination of *EAG*, 19, a quarter *qist*, tentatively read “Khurrah,” reveals that the name there also is Junādah; so also, *BM*, p. 108, no. 392 (= Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, no. 1), also a quarter *qist*, and *Cairo*, 43, with the first name unread. See also no. 44, below, a measure of cumin,

withouth the father's name. Were perhaps 'Isâ and 'Umar (*EAG*, 208–210) sons of this man? I have not been able to identify the person in the chronicles.

38.–41. *One-quarter qist*.

مما امر  
به عبيد الله  
بن الجباب ربيع  
قسط وا  
ف

38. Green, 36 × 34.  
ANS 54.159

PLATE II

39. Green, 32 × 29.  
ANS 54.159

40. Green, 31.  
ANS 54.161

41. Green, 33.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 20.

42.–43. *One-quarter qist of olive oil*.

بسم الله  
... مر عبيدا  
... بن الجباب  
... ربيع قسط  
... يت و  
...

42. Green, 31.  
ANS 56.8

43. Green, 36 × 31.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 21, *EAG Suppl.*, 4, *Cairo*, 31–38, etc.

44. *Measure of white cumin.* III A.H.: 729/30 A.D.

بسم الله	In the name of Allāh:
امر بجمعه	ordered the making of it,
مكيّة الكمون ا	measure of <i>kammūn</i> , wh-
.. بض عيد الله بن	ite, ‘Ubaydullāh b.
.. حجاب على يدى	[al]-Ḥabḥāb, at the hands of
.. نادة سنة احدى	[Ju]nādah, year el-
عشرة ومئة ...	even and one hundred...
....	.....

Green, 41 × 36.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE II

Unpublished. For the name of the prefect see no.37, above. White cumin and its medicinal properties are discussed in *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 15–16.

45. *Executive stamp.*

... يد	[‘U]baydu-
.. له بن	l]lāh b.
الحجاب	al-Ḥabḥāb.

Green, 32.  
ANS 54.14

Unpublished. The letters are exceptionally large and crude, and the father’s name is written in semi-cursive fashion.

*F. Ḥaḥṣ b. al-Walīd*

Governor, 108 A.H. (part): 727 A.D.  
 Governor, 124–127 A.H.: 742–744 A.D.  
 Finance Director, 124–125 A.H.: 742–743 A.D.  
 Governor, 127–128 A.H.: 745–746 A.D.

VESSEL STAMPS

46. *One-quarter qist.*

بسم الله  
 .. مر الامير  
 .. فص بن الوليد  
 بصنعه ربع  
 قسط واف

In the name of Allāh:  
 [or]dered the amīr  
 [Ḥa]ḥṣ b. al-Walīd  
 the making of it: one-quarter  
*qist*, full measure.

Green, 42.  
 ANS 56.8

PLATE III

Similar to *Cairo*, 103 (errors in transcription).

47. *Measure of pure lupine.*

بسم الله امر  
 الله بالوفا وا  
 مر الامير حفص بن  
 .. وليد بصنعه  
 مكيمة وافية  
 للترمس (sic)  
 نقبس

In the name of Allāh: commanded  
 Allāh honesty; and or-  
 dered the amīr Ḥaḥṣ b.  
 [al]-Walīd the making of it,  
 measure, full measure,  
 for *al-turmus*,  
 pure.

Green, 40 × 37.  
 ANS 54.15

Unpublished. For *turmus*, “lupine,” and its medicinal properties, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 14–15.

G. Al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh

Finance Director, 116–124 A.H.: 734–742 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHTS

48. *Fals of 33 (?) qīrāt.*

بسم الله امر  
 . . مير القاسم  
 بن عبيد الله  
 ميزان فلس [ثلاث و ٣]  
 ثلثين (٣) قيراط  
 وا (٣) ف (٣)

In the name of Allāh: order of  
 [the] amīr al-Qāsim  
 b. 'Ubaydullāh:  
 weight of *fals* [of three and 3]  
 thirty (?) *qīrāt*,  
 full weight (?).

Green, 27; 6.03.  
 ANS 54.164

PLATE III

Unpublished. This weight is crudely inscribed and atypical.  
 If the legend actually reads “33”, the weight is light.

49.–50. *Fals al-kabīr of 30 kharrūbah.*

بسم الله  
 مما امر به ا  
 لقاسم بن عبيد  
 الله مثقال فلس (sic)  
 الكبير ثلثين خر  
 وبه ان  
 ف

49. Green, 33; 5.87.  
 ANS 56.8

50. Pale blue-green, 33, frg. (1/2).  
 ANS 55.141

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 8, and *Cairo*, 96–98, where the error in the spelling of the word *fals* is not noted. The curious spelling of the last word is discussed in *EAG Suppl.*, p. 9. I now agree with John Walker (*NC* 1951, p. 149) that it is more probably a misspelling of *wāfi* than of *wazn*.

51. *Fals of 30 kharrūbah.* 119 A.H.: 737 A.D.

بسم الله  
 مرالله بالوفا  
 و امر بصنعه  
 مثقال فلس ثنتين  
 خروبة القاسم  
 بن عبيد الله على يدي  
 مسلم بن العا  
 ف سنة تسع  
 عشرة وما  
 تة

Green, 34; 5.86.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 30, and *Cairo*, 95, where the date is read 117 or 119. There can be no doubt that the digit here is “nine”, as it is on other specimens that I have seen. As for the name of the prefect we again have a clear instance of the spelling of the father’s name as al-‘Āf, not al-‘Arrāf, discussed in *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 11–12. Giorgio Levi Della Vida has pointed out to me in correspondence that there could be no such name as ‘*Arāf*, and that ‘*Arrāf* is possible but still unlikely. On nos. 53, 56–57, 61 and 66, below, the name is clearly العراف. This prefect’s name still remains a puzzle.

52. *Fals of 24 kharrūbah.*

بسم الله  
 مما امر به ا  
 لقاسم بن ن  
 عبيد الله مثقا  
 ل فلس اربعة  
 وعشرين خرو  
 بة واف

In the name of Allāh:  
 among those things ordered by a-  
 l-Qāsim b.  
 ‘Ubaydullāh: weigh-  
 t of *fals* of four  
 and twenty *kharrūbah*, full weight.

Green, 31; 4.63.

ANS 54.168

Unpublished.

PLATE III



## RING-WEIGHTS

53. *Raṭl*. 119 A.H.: 737 A.D.

... سم الله ا	[In] the name of Allāh:
.. ر الله بالو	[command]ed Allāh hon-
... ا وامر بصنعة	esty; and ordered the making
هذا الرطل القا	of this <i>raṭl</i> al-Qā-
سم بن عبيد الله	sim b. 'Ubaydullāh,
... على يدى مسلم	at the hands of Muslim [b. a]-
لعراف سنة	l-'Arrāf, year
... تسع عش	nineteen[n]
ومئة	and one hundred.

Green, piece of top only, 59 × 48; height, 16+; chipped.  
ANS 54.159

PLATE III

Unpublished. Cf. Jungfleisch, *Ratls discoïdes*, p. 64, a disk-weight with an almost identical legend, but هذا on line 3. Cf. no. 51, above, for the name of the prefect.

54. *Raṭl of meat* (?). 123 A.H.: 740/1 A.D.

... م الله ا	[In the n]ame of Allāh: com-
... ه بالوفا	[mand]ed Allā[h] honesty;
... بصنعه ر	[and ordered] the making if it, r-
... اللحم (ه) القا (ه)	[aṭl] of meat (?), al-Qā-
... بن عبيد الله على	[sim] b. 'Ubaydullāh, at
... يزيد بن ابى يزيد	[the hands of] Yazīd b. abi-Yazīd,
... نة ثلث و	[yea]r three and
... شرين و	[tw]enty and
مئة	one hundred.

Green, part of top only, 55+ × 58; height, 40+; 197.34+.  
ANS 51.119

PLATE III

Unpublished. Although the weight is fragmentary and unclear in several respects, it is important in that it definitely

places Yazīd b. abi-Yazīd in office as prefect in the year 123 A.H. There are other ring-weights for meat issued in the year 123 (?), with the names of two other (uncertain) prefects: cf. *EAG*, 34, and *EAG Suppl.*, 9, and the discussions of the names, pp. 89 and pp. 10–11, respectively.

## VESSEL STAMPS

55. *Qisṭ* (?).

بسم الله  
امر القاسم ..  
بن عبيد الله  
قسطن  
واف

In the name of Allāh:  
order of al-Qās[im]  
b. ‘Ubaydullāh:  
*qisṭ*,  
full weight.

Green, 39 × 31, frgs. lacking.  
ANS 54.164

PLATE III

Unpublished. This stamp, and no. 60, below, are very puzzling. One would be tempted to read قسطن, “two *qisṭs*,” were it not for two considerations. The first is that no. 60 is a quarter, and “a quarter of two *qisṭs*” would be a very perverse way of designating a measure; and secondly the present piece has a pellet above و, which suggests that the element is not a letter but an ornament. Also the same element on no. 60 may perhaps have a star above it. If what appears to be a *nūn* is an ornament, we would then have قسطا, which might be an early variant of *qisṭ* (a borrowing from Greek). See the remarks under no. 60.

56.–57. *Qisṭ*. 119 A.H.: 737 A.D.

بسم الله ا  
مر الله بالوفا  
وامر بصنعة  
هذا القسط

.. لقاسم بن عبيد  
 .. لله على يدي مسلم  
 بن العراف سنة  
 تسع عشرة و  
 مائة

56. Dark green,  $43 \times 38$ , chipped at bottom.  
 ANS 54.161

PLATE III

57. Green,  $43 \times 40$ .  
 ANS 56.8

The transcription above is composite, ANS 56.8 being the less completely preserved. Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 10, with possible minor differences in the arrangement of the lines; also *Cairo*, 73–75, where the date is given as 117 or 119.

58. *One-half qist*. 122 A.H.: 739/40 A.D.

.....  
 امر الله بالو  
 فا و امر بصنع  
 نصف قسط القا  
 سم بن عبيد الله  
 على يدي صفار بن  
 شبة سنة ا  
 تين وعشرين  
 ومائة

.....  
 Commanded Allāh hon-  
 esty; and ordered the making of it,  
 one-half *qist*, al-Qā-  
 sim b. ‘Ubaydullāh,  
 at the hands of Ṣaffār b.  
 Shabbah, year t-  
 wo and twenty  
 and one hundred.

Green,  $42 \times 36$ .  
 ANS 54.159

PLATE III

Similar to *University College*, 120. This prefect's name also occurs on *EAG*, 36, *EAG Suppl.*, 12, *University College*, 109 and 127, and others (see below). For my attempts to read the name see *EAG*, p. 87, and *EAG Suppl.*, p. 12. It will be noted that I now retain the suggested name for the father, Shabbah, but that I now newly propose Ṣaffār for the pre-

fect's own name. The letters of the name on the present specimen are quite distinct, but there is of course a choice of consonants.<sup>19</sup> Cf. no. 62, below.

59. *One-half qist*.

بسم الله  
امر القاسم  
بن عبيد الله  
نصف قسط  
وافن

In the name of Allāh:  
order of al-Qāsim  
b. 'Ubaydullāh:  
one-half *qist*,  
full measure.

Green, 40 × 34.  
ANS 56.163

PLATE IV

Similar to *University College*, 124.

60. *One-quarter qist (?)*.

بسم الله  
امر القاسم بن  
عبيد الله ربع  
قسطا \* (ر)  
.. وف

In the name of Allāh:  
order of al-Qāsim b.  
'Ubaydullāh: one-quarter  
*qist (?)*,  
full measure.

Green, 31.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IV

Cf. no. 55, above. Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 123–127, and *Cairo*, 60–64. Casanova found the legend “inexplicable, si l'on n'y voit une alteration assez étrange d'ailleurs de قسط واف;” and Mme Launois thinks “qu'il faut lire مسطار, moût,” which is hardly likely. The last line on the published specimens, as well as on others which I have seen, is always اوف instead of واف.

<sup>19</sup> Mme Launois (*Cairo*, 79–81) reads صفار بن سيف.

61. *One-quarter qist*. 11[9] A.H.: 737 A.D.

بسم الله ا  
مر الله بالوفا  
وامر بصنعه ر  
بع قسط القا  
.. لم (sic) بن عبيد الله  
على يدى مسلم  
بن العراف سنة  
.. سم عشرة و ..  
...

Yellowish green, 37 × 33.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *Cairo*, 69–72, where the name of al-Qāsim is normally written (according to the transcription); cf. *EAG Suppl.*, 11, with a slightly different alignment, and *University College*, 122 (incomplete).

62. *One-quarter qist*. 122 A.H.: 739/40 A.D.

بسم الله  
.. مر الله با  
.. وامر  
بصنعه ربع  
.. سم بن عب  
.. لله على يدى صف  
.. بن شبة سنة ..  
.. بن وعشرين و  
مائة

Green, 39 × 37.  
ANS 54.159

Similar to *EAG*, 36, *EAG Suppl.*, 12, *University College*, 127, and *Cairo*, 79–81. For the name of the prefect, see no. 58, above.

63.-64. *Measure of jujube.* 122 A.H.: 739/40 A.D.

بسم الله امر  
 . . لقاسم بن عبيد  
 الله مكيمة نبق  
 واف على يدي  
 صفار بن شبة سنة  
 اثنين وعشرين  
 ومئة \*

In the name of Allāh: order  
 of [a]l-Qāsim b. 'Ubayd-  
 ullāh: measure of *nabq*,  
 full measure, at the hands of  
 Ṣaffār b. Shabbah, year  
 twenty-two  
 and one hundred.

63. Yellowish green, 51.  
 ANS 56.8

PLATE IV

64. Brownish green, 47 × 43.  
 ANS 54.159

The date is not completely preserved on no. 64.

Unpublished. The name of the medicinal *nabq*<sup>20</sup> is here encountered for the first time on a vessel stamp. The word is variously defined as *Rhamnus nabeca Forsk.*, *Zizyphus lotus* (*Rhamnus lotus*), *Zizyphus sativus* (*Rhamnus zizyphus*), or *Zizyphus Spina Christi* (*Rhamnus Spina Christi*), and is identified with the popular names "wild jujube," "lotus jujube," "Christ's thorn," etc.<sup>21</sup> The lotus (or *Zizyphus lotus*) is sometimes held to be the Homeric plant which yielded the fruit of the Lotophagi; and Arabic philologists generally consider *nabq* as synonymous with *sidr*, which in turn is associated with the *sidrat al-muntahā*, "the lote-tree in the Seventh Heaven, beyond which neither angel nor prophet passes, and which shades the water and Paradise."<sup>22</sup> But

<sup>20</sup> Also *nabaq*, *nabiq*, *nibq*. See *Muḥīt*, II, p. 2035; *Lisān*, XII, p. 227; Freytag, s.v.; Dozy, *Supplement*, II, p. 637.

<sup>21</sup> Issa Bey, pp. 155, 192; Bedevian, nos. 3651-3653; Sharaf, s.v. *sidr*; Schweinfurth, p. 71; Muschler, p. 617; *Webster's New International Dictionary* (2nd ed.), s.v. *Zizyphus*, *lotus*, *jujube*; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), s.v. *lotus*.

<sup>22</sup> Lane, I, p. 1331. See Qur'ān LIII:14, LVI:28. Cf. G. Lechler, "The Tree of Life in Indo-European and Islamic Cultures," *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), p. 369, where the name of the tree is inexplicably spelled *sidra*.

there is some question about this connection. At all events *nabq* (or *sidr*) was recognized by Arab pharmacological writers as having various medicinal properties: it was taken both fresh and dried, was good for the stomach, "evacuating the bile in the stomach and intestines," was antiphlogistic, and "sweetened the mouth."<sup>23</sup> Similar and other properties in at least one race of the species were enumerated by Dioscorides: a beverage made from the seed relieved coughs, dissolved stones in the bladder, counteracted poisonous bites of snakes and wild animals.<sup>24</sup> So also modern herbalists recognize jujube berries (whether *Zizyphus vulgaris* or similar species such as *Z. lotos*, *Z. sativa*, *Z. jujuba*, etc.) as a nutritive and demulcent pectoral fruit.<sup>25</sup>

65. *Measure (?) of pure . . . . . (?)*.

بسم الله امر  
.. لقاسم بن عبيد  
الله بصنعه م(?)  
نفيس على يدى يز  
يد بن ابى يزيد

In the name of Allāh: ordered  
[a]l-Qāsim b. 'Ubayd-  
ullāh the making of it: m[easure] . . .  
pure; at the hands of Yaz-  
īd b. abi-Yazīd.

Green, 27.

ANS 56.8

PLATE IV

Unpublished. The legend is puzzling in that to judge by the length of the complete lines there is very little space at the end of the third line for the completion of the word *mikyalah* (?) and for the name of the substance or seed qualified by the word *naḥīs*, "pure," which begins the fourth line. For other instances of the occurrence of the name Yazīd b. abi-Yazīd in conjunction with that of al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh, see *University College*, 121, *Fouquet Collection*, 128-129, *Grohmann*, 3, and *Cairo*, 83-84.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn al-Bayṭār, Vol. XXV<sup>1</sup>, no. 1165, and XXVI<sup>1</sup>, no. 2212.

<sup>24</sup> Dioscorides, Bk. I, 121 (p. 65).

<sup>25</sup> Grieve, II, p. 451.

66. *Measure of pure* . . . . . (?). 121 A.H.: 738/9 A.D.

بسم الله  
 مما امر به الا  
 مير القاسم بن  
 عبيد الله مكيلا  
 .. سعاره (؟) نفيس و  
 .. على يدى مسلم بن  
 العراف سنة ا  
 حدى وعشرين و  
 مائة

In the name of Allāh:  
 among those things ordered by the a-  
 mīr al-Qāsim b.  
 ‘Ubaydullāh: measure  
 of . . . . ., pure, . .  
 . . ., at the hands of Muslim b.  
 al-‘Arrāf, year o-  
 ne and twenty and  
 one hundred.

Brownish green, 47 × 46.  
 ANS 54.159.

PLATE IV

Unpublished. It is a pity that I cannot read the first part of the fifth line, for this stamp would seem to be for a hitherto unrecorded seed or substance. The first part of the preserved letters in that line may be a *sīn* or *shīn*, but this is by no means certain, and the letter following is indistinct and might be one of eight or ten different letters. In the circumstances I have had to abandon attempts to read the word, and we can only hope for the discovery of another and clearer specimen.

For Muslim b. al-‘Arrāf see no. 51, above. The date, 121 A.H., occurs on other stamps of this prefect's: cf. *Cairo*, nos. 92–93.

*H. Yazīd b. abi-Yazīd*

Prefect, ca. 116–127 A.H.: 734–745 A.D.  
 Finance Director (?), ca. 127 A.H.: 745 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHT

67. *One-third dīnār*.

امر يزيد بن  
 ابى يزيد \* مثقا  
 ل ثلث وافي

Ordered Yazīd b.  
 abi-Yazīd \* weigh-  
 t of one-third, full weight.



Green, 19; 1.42.  
ANS 53.49

Similar to *University College*, 131; *Cairo*, 126–127.

## VESSEL STAMPS

68.–69. *Qisṭ of olive oil.*

امر يزید  
بن ابی يزید  
قسط زيت و  
افی

Order of Yazīd  
b. abi-Yazīd:  
*qisṭ* of olive oil, full  
measure.

68. Green, 37 × 33.  
ANS 54.175

PLATE IV

69. Green, 34.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *University College*, 93.

70. *One-half qisṭ of olive oil.*

امر يزید  
بن ابی يزید نصف  
قسط زيت  
وافی

Order of Yazīd  
b. abi-Yazīd: one-half  
*qisṭ* of olive oil,  
full measure.

Green, 35.  
ANS 55.141

PLATE IV

Probably similar to *Cairo*, 119, where ٧ is transcribed in brackets on the first line.

71. *One-quarter qisṭ.*

مر يزید . .  
ابی يزید ر . .  
ع قسط . .  
وافی

[Or]der of Yazīd  
[b.] abi-Yazīd:  
one-quar[ter] *qisṭ*,  
full measure.

Green, 30.  
ANS 55.86

PLATE IV

Unpublished.

72.-73. *One-quarter qisṭ of olive oil.*

امر يزید  
بن ابی يزید ر  
بم قسط ز  
یت واف

72. Green, 34 × 31.  
ANS 54.161

PLATE IV

73. Green, 35 (fragmentary).  
ANS 55.86

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 14; *Cairo*, 116-118. The legend of no. 73 is only partially preserved.

74.-75. *Executive stamp.*

علی یدی  
یزید بن ا  
یزید . . .

74. Green, 24 × 21.  
ANS 54.159

75. Green, 27 × 22.  
ANS 54.159

Cf. *EAG*, 48, with star beneath; *EAG*, 47, *University College*, 132, and *Cairo*, 120-125, with different alignment; and *Fouquet Collection*, 175-182, where the alignment is not indicated.

### *I. 'Isā b. abi-'Aṭā*

Finance Director, 125-127 A.H.: 743-745 A.D.  
128-131 A.H.: 745-749 A.D.

### COIN WEIGHTS

76. *One-half dīnār.*

بسم الله  
عیسی بن ابی (sic?)  
بصنعه مثقا

ل نصف على  
... يزيد بن ا  
... يد

Green, 22; 2.11.  
ANS 56.8

The legend is abbreviated and in part garbled. Similar to *EAG*, 40, and *Fouquet Collection*, 24 (similar style); cf. *Cairo*, 114, and *BM*, 6d (different and not "barbaric").

77. *One-third dīnār.*

بسم الله  
امر الله بالو  
فا وامر عيسى بن  
ابي عطا [بصنعه؟]  
مثقال ثلث د  
ينر واف (؟)

Green, 20; 1.40.  
ANS 53.123

In the name of Allāh:  
commanded Allāh hon-  
esty; and ordered 'Isā b.  
abi-'Aṭā [the making of it]:  
weight of one-third *d-*  
*īnār*, full weight (?).

PLATE IV

Unpublished. The legend is much abbreviated throughout.

78. *Dirhem.*

بسم الله ا  
مر الله بالوفا وا  
مر عيسى بن ابي عطا  
بصنعه مثقال درهم  
على يدي يزيد بن ابي  
يزيدا (sic)

Green, 25; 2.77.  
ANS 53.50

In the name of Allāh: com-  
manded Allāh honesty; and or-  
dered 'Isā b. abi-'Aṭā  
the making of it: weight of *dirhem*,  
at the hands of Yazīd b. abi-  
Yazīd.

PLATE IV

Similar to *University College*, 133; cf. *BM*, 6, which lacks the ا at the end of the last line.

## DISK-WEIGHT

79. *One-quarter raṭl*.

Principal stamp:

.....	} Probably .....
.....	
فا و امر عيسى ..	esty; and ordered 'Isâ [b.]
ابى عطا يصنعه ...	abi-'Aṭā the making of it: [quar]-
بع رطل واف	ter <i>raṭl</i> , full weight.

Edge of a small secondary stamp (diameter about 16) at lower left.

Green, 63+, fragmentary (about 1/2 lacking); 40.10+.  
ANS 51.119

PLATE V

Unpublished.

## RING-WEIGHT

80. *One-half (raṭl) of meat*.

Stamp A (at right):	بسم الله ا	In the name of Allāh: com-
	مرالله بالو	manded Allāh hon-
	.. و امر عيسى	[esty]; and ordered 'Isâ
	... عطا نصف	[b. abi]-'Aṭā: one-half
	... اللحم	[ <i>raṭl</i> ] of meat.

Stamp B (at left):	على يدى	Cf. nos. 74-75.
	يزيد بن ا	
	بى يزيد	

Green, part of top and one side; 60 × 44 × 39+; stamp A: 33, stamp B:  
21; 104.90+.  
ANS 54.164

PLATE V

Perhaps similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 13, which lacks the indication of weight; cf. *University College*, 194, probably 'Isâ with Yazîd, a one-half *raṭl*, but not of meat.

## VESSEL STAMPS

81.-82. *One-half qist*.

.. اسم الله	In the name of Allā[h]:
.. مر الامير	[or]dered the amīr
.. سي بن ابى عط	[I]sâ b. abi-ʿAṭ[ā]
.. نعه نصف	[the ma]king of it, one-half
.. سطر وا(ة)	[qī]st, full [measure].

81. Green, 33 × 30.  
ANS 56.8

82. Green, 43 × 36.  
ANS 56.8

The above transcriptions are composite; both specimens are very fragmentary and uncertain. Probably similar to *BM*, 394 (p. 109), where the first line is omitted in the transcription but is visible in the plate.

83. *One-quarter qist*.

... سم الله  
.. مر الامير  
.. سي بن ابى عطا  
... مه ربع قسط  
واف

Green, 40 × 38.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 42, and to *Cairo*, 106-109, where the missing عيسى is not indicated in the transcription; probably similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 134-135, alignment not given; cf. *Cairo*, 113, without الامير and with a different alignment.

84. *Measure* (?).

... م الله	[In the na]me of Allāh:
.. ر الله بالوفا	[command]ed Allāh honesty; and
.. الامير عيسى	[ordered] the amīr ‘Isā
.. طا يصنعه	[b. abi-‘A]ṭā the making of it,
.. يلة واف	[meas]ure (?), full measure.

Green, 29.

ANS 56.8

Unpublished. The reading [mik]yalah in the last line cannot be considered certain; if it is correctly read it would be the first instance of the word without accompanying seed or substance.

85. *Measure of whey* (?).

... م الا	[In the na]me of Allā[h]:
... ر الله بالو	[command]ed Allāh hon-
... و امر الامير	[esty]; and ordered the amīr
.. سى بن ابى عط	[‘I]sā b. abi-‘Aṭ[ā]
... صنعه مكي	the making of it, mea[sure]
.. المش وا	of <i>mishsh</i> (?), full [measure].

Green, 36×31.

ANS 54.159

Unpublished. The word which I tentatively read *al-mishsh* occurs on several other stamps.<sup>26</sup> I suggest with a good deal of reserve that the substance might be “whey,” defined as “sorte de fromage qu’on tire du babeurre et du lait caillé.”<sup>27</sup> In ancient times whey (*Orros Galaktos*) was recognized as a mild purgative,<sup>28</sup> but a major obstacle to the reading is the fact that it is not described under this name in any of the

<sup>26</sup> Nos. 117–119, 273, below, and several others, published and unpublished.

<sup>27</sup> Dozy, *Supplément*, II, p. 593; cf. H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1952), p. 811: “Molke.”

<sup>28</sup> Dioscorides, Bk. II, 76 (Gunther, p. 109).

Arabic *materia medica*, nor do I find it in the classical dictionaries.<sup>29</sup>

86. *Measure of* .....(?).

... اسم	In the name of Al[lāh]:
... مر الله بالو	[com]manded Allāh hon-
... ا و امر الامير	[es]ty; and ordered the amī[r]
... سي بن ابي عطا	['I]sā b. abi-‘Aṭ[ā]
... مع مكي	[the mak]ing of it, meas[ure]
.....	.....

Green, 34 × 31.  
ANS 54.175

Cf. other undeciphered measures of ‘Isā’s: *Fouquet Collection*, 136; *Cairo*, III–II2.

*J. Yazīd b. Tamīm*

Prefect, ca. 128–132 A.H.: 745–749 A.D.<sup>30</sup>

VESSEL STAMPS

87. *Measure of lupine.*

مكي	Measure
ترمس على	of <i>turmus</i> , at
يدي يز	the hands of Yaz-
يد	id
بن تميم	b. Tamīm.
✕	

Green, 41.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE V

Unpublished. For *turmus*, “lupine,” and its pharmaceutical uses, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 14–15.

<sup>29</sup> In Mohammad Sharaf “whey” is defined as *māh al-jubn*, *maṣl*, *maṣālah*, *muḍārat al-laban*, etc., but *mishsh* does not appear.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *EAG*, p. 96.

88. *Executive stamp.*

على يدى  
يزيد بن  
تميم

At the hands  
of Yazīd b.  
Tamīm.

Green, 29.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE V

Similar to *Cairo*, 141-142; probably similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 190, where the alignment is not indicated.

*K. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān*

Finance Director, 131-132 A.H.: 749 A.D.

Governor, 132-133 A.H.: 750 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHTS

89. *Dirhem.*

بسم الله امر  
الامير عبد الملك  
بن مروان يصنعه مث...  
.. درم واف \*  
.. يدى يزى...  
تميم

In the name of Allāh: ordered  
the amīr 'Abd al-Malik  
b.Ma[rwā]n the making of it: wei[gh]-  
[t] of *dirhem*, full weight,  
[at the] hands of Yazī[d b.]  
Tamīm.

Green, 26; 2.58 (frg. lacking).  
ANS 54.168

Similar to *Cairo*, 136, except for the star, which appears not to be present there.

90. *Fals of 30 kharrūbah.*

بسم الله امر  
الامير عبد الملك  
بن مروان اصلحه الله  
يصنعه مثقال فلس  
ثلاثين خروبة واف  
على يدى يزيد بن  
تميم



Green, 34; 5.87.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE V

Similar to *EAG*, 49; *Cairo*, 137–140.

## DISK-WEIGHT

91. *Three wuqīyah: one-quarter raṭl.*

Published in *Museum Notes*, V (1952), pp. 179–180.

## VESSEL STAMPS

92. *One-quarter qisṭ.*

.. سم الله امر  
.. له بالوفا وامر  
... مير عبد الملك  
.. مرون بصنعه ر  
قسط واف

[In] the name of Allāh: commanded  
[Al]lāh honesty; and ordered  
[the a]mīr ‘Abd al-Malik  
[b.] Marwān the making of it: one-  
quar[ter]  
*qisṭ*, full measure.

Green, 36 × 31.  
ANS 53.50

PLATE V

Unpublished.

93.–94. *Measure of woad-leaves.*

... بسم الله  
.. له بالوفا وامر  
لامير عبد الملك  
.. مرون بصنعه  
مكيّة للو  
سمة  
وافية

In the name of Allāh: [commanded]  
[A]llāh honesty; and order [ed th]-  
e amīr ‘Abd al-Malik  
[b.] Marwān the making of it:  
measure for *wa-*  
*smah*,  
full measure.

93. Green, 40 × 37.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE V

94. Green, 36.  
ANS 54.199

No. 93 is the better preserved.

Unpublished. For *wasmah* (*wusmah*, *wasimah*), see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 5–6, in connection with a measure of ‘Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb.

95. *Uncertain measure.*

بسم الله . . .  
 الله بالوفا . .  
 . . . لاميير عبد ال . . .  
 . . . ون به . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

Green, 29 (frg.).  
 ANS 54.196

## II. ʿABBĀSID OFFICIALS

*A. Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl*

Prefect, ca. 132–152 A.H.: 749–769 A.D.

### DISK-WEIGHT

96. *Wuqīyah*.

.....

.....

.....

.....

بن شرحبيل

b. Shuraḥbīl,

وقية واف

*wuqīyah*, full weight.

Green, 53 × 28 (about 1/3 lacking); thickness, 10; (19.69).

ANS 54.168

PLATE V

Unpublished. For *wuqīyah*, “ounce,” see *EAG*, pp. 17–18; *EAG Suppl.*, 30.

### VESSEL STAMPS

97.–98. *One-half qist*.

بسم الله

In the name of Allāh:

على يدى محمد

at the hands of Muḥammad

(sic) بن شرحبيل نصيف

b. Shuraḥbīl, one-half

قسط واف

*qist*, full measure.

97. Green, 41 × 38.

ANS 56.8

98. Green, 40.

ANS 56.8

PLATE VI

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 183, where the misseplling of the word for one-half is not noted although it is visible in the plate.

*B. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd*

Governor and Finance Director

133–136 A.H.: 751–753 A.D.

137–141 A.H.: 755–758 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

99. *Dīnār*.

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر عبد ا  
لملك بن يزيد  
بمثقال دينر  
واف

Reverse area (retrograde):

صنعة  
كيل

Reverse margin (retrograde):

..... على يدى محمد بن

Green, 28; 4.23.

ANS 56.8

PLATE VI

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 18; *Cairo*, 167–168. The name in the reverse margin is to be completed to read Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl. As for the name of the artisan who manufactured the weight and whose name appears in the center of the reverse, there is little doubt that he was a Copt named  $\chi\alpha\lambda\alpha$ , Chael, as originally suggested by Grohmann.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *EAG*, p. 106. In addition to the reference given in footnote 21 there, see Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, II (Cairo, 1936), pp. 182–183. Cf. no. 162, below. Other occurrences of his name are *EAG*, 59–60, 62–63, and below, no. 101. In *EAG Suppl.*, p. 48, I stated that I was not satisfied that كيل is a name, but here I was doubtless influenced by the instances where a word with the same spelling occurs in an unmistakably metrological sense (e.g., *EAG*, 124 and 132).

100. *Fals of 24 kharrūbah.*

بسم الله  
 امر الأمير عبد  
 الملك بن يزيد  
 بمشقال فلس أربعة  
 وعشرين خر  
 وبة \*

Green, 30; 4.68.  
 ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 64; *Cairo*, 169–172.

101. *Dirhem of 13 kharrūbah.*

Obverse (square imprint):

بسم الله ا  
 مر عبد الملك  
 بن يزيد بمشقا  
 ل درهم و  
 زن ثلاثة (٣) عشر  
 خروبة

In the name of Allāh: or-  
 dered ‘Abd al-Malik  
 b. Yazīd: weigh-  
 t of *dirhem*, wei-  
 ght of thirteen  
*kharrūbah*.

Reverse area (retrograde):

صنعة  
 كيل

Manufacture  
 of Chael.

Reverse margin:

...صم بن حف...

....[‘Ā]ṣim b. Ḥaf[ṣ].

Green, 22; 2.50.  
 ANS 53.123

PLATE VI

Similar to *BM*, 11, the reverse of which is illustrated but not described; same reverse as *BM*, 10, and *EAG*, 62–63; cf. Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, no. 10.

VESSEL STAMPS

102.–103. *One-quarter qist*.

..سم الله ام..  
..بد الملك بن يزيد  
..صنعه ربع قسط  
واف على يدى محمد  
بن شرحيل

102. Green, 40 × 38.  
ANS 56.163

103. Green, 40 × 36 (frg. lacking).  
ANS 54.15

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 20–21; cf. *Cairo*, 163–166, where the illegible portions are not indicated in the transcription. The above transcription is composite: no. 103 is only partially preserved.

*C. Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī*

Governor, 133 A.H.: 750/1 A.D.

Governor and Finance Director, 136–137 A.H.: 753–755 A.D.

VESSEL STAMPS

104.–105. *One-quarter qist*.

...ما امر  
صلح بن على اصله..  
..له بصنعه ربع  
قسط وافى

Among those things ordered by  
Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī (may keep [him] straight  
[Al]lāh) the making of it: one-quarter  
*qist*, full measure.

104. Green, 47.  
ANS 56.8

105. Green, 40 × 37.  
ANS 52.84

Similar to *Cairo*, 158–160; cf. *Fouquet Collection*, 141 (alignment?), and with *al-amīr* (?). The above transcription is composite.

4\*

## D. 'Aṣim b. Ḥaṣṣ

Prefect, ca. 133-141 A.H.: 751-758 A.D.  
ca. 165-169 A.H.: 781-786 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS<sup>32</sup>

106. *Fals of 36 (kharrūbah).*

Center:

مثقال  
فلس  
سمر

Around:

على يدى عاصم بن حفص

Semi-cursive characters.

Brownish green, 32; 7.01.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 68; *Cairo*, 237-239. The Coptic notation for 36 (line 3) is discussed in *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 31-32; cf. the table in *EAG*, p. 10. The varieties of these Coptic numerals are clearly set forth in A. Mallon's *Grammaire Copte* (Beirut, 1904), p. 220, and it will be noted that the figures for 30 and 6 are exactly as on this and similar weights.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> These weights probably belong to the second term of 'Aṣim's office, but I have placed his pieces here because his first term probably began before al-Manṣūr's Caliphate.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Grohmann, *Papyruskunde*, p. 101; and also V. Garthausen, *Die Schrift, Unterschriften und Chronologie in Altertum und im Byzantinischen Mittelalter* (Vol. 2 of *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1913), Taf. 4b and 5, where the Coptic derivation from the Greek is apparent. Fritz Heichelheim ("Zum Weiterleben der griechischen Zahlenbuchstaben," *ZDMG*, Vol. 81, 1927, pp. 78-81) has pointed out that the Copts took over the Greek system almost without change. See also, with respect to these numerals on glass weights, Jungfleisch, *Notations conventionnelles*, pp. 258, 267, 270. I find it difficult to accept the explanation that the symbol for 36 is "l'alef couché voulant dire 'un' et ٣٦ significant 'complet';" or perhaps I do not fully understand this argument and some of the other interpretations in this interesting article. See also my remarks under no. 150, p. 59, below.

107. *Fals of 30 kharrūbah.*

Center:

علي	At
عاصم	‘Āṣim
يدي	the hands of

Around (in form of square):

مثقال | فلس | ثلاثين | خروبة      Weight | of fals | thirty | *kharrūbah*.

Dark amber, 31; 5.77.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VI

Unpublished. The semi-cursive letters are very similar to those of no. 106, on which ‘Āṣim’s name appears in full. There can be no doubt that this piece also belongs to ‘Āṣim b. Ḥafṣ.

*E. The Caliph al-Manṣūr.*<sup>34</sup>

136–158 A.H.: 754–775 A.D.

*a) The Caliph Alone*

VESSEL STAMPS

108.–110. *One-half ratl of grease.*

امر عبد . .  
 . . لله عبد الله  
 مير المومنين (sic)  
 بصنعه نصف  
 رطل دهن  
 وافي

108. Green, 41 × 38.  
ANS 54.158

PLATE VI

<sup>34</sup> As in *EAG*, the arrangement of pieces issued by the authority of al-Manṣūr is as follows: first, those bearing his name alone; then, those also carrying the name of a subordinate.



109. Green, 34.  
ANS 54.161

110. Green, 35 × 33.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 56; *Cairo*, 150. The transcription of *EAG*, 56, should be revised to show the error in the spelling of the word المؤمنين.

III. *One-half (?) qist*.

مما امر به  
عبد الله عبد  
الله امير المؤمنين  
اوفوا الكيل ولا تنكو  
نوا من الخسرين [نصف؟]  
قسط واف

Green, 41.  
ANS 54.160

Similar to *EAG*, 57, except that the latter is believed to be for a one-third *qist* (see also no. 112, below); and cf. *EAG*, 55, a half *qist*, with a different arrangement of the lines.

112. *One-third (?) qist*.

مما امر به  
عبد الله عبد  
.. الله امير المؤمنين  
اوفوا الكيل ولا تنكو  
... من الخسرين [ثلث؟]  
قسط واف

Green, 41 × 37.  
ANS 54.160

PLATE VI

Similar to *EAG*, 57, where ثلث is dubious as here.

113.–115. *One-quarter qist*.

مما امر به  
عبد الله عبدا  
له امير المؤمنين . .  
وفوا الكيل ولا تنكو  
نوا من الخسرين ربع  
قسط واف

Among those things ordered by  
the Servant of Allāh, ‘Abdu-  
llāh, Commander of the Believers:  
“[Gi]-  
ve just measure, and not b-  
e among the defrauders;” one-quarter  
*qist*, full measure.

113. Green, 39 × 37.  
ANS 56.8

114. Green, 39 × 34.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VI

115. Green, 39.  
ANS 56.8

The last two lines of no. 115 are uncertain. Similar to *Cairo*, 151–154 where the alignment is not entirely correctly transcribed.

116. *Measure of black cumin*.

... مر عبدا  
... له عبد الا...  
... مير المؤمنين...  
... صعه (sic) مكي...  
... كون الا...  
د واف

[Order]ed the Servant of A-  
[l]lāh, ‘Abdullā[h],  
[Com]mander of the Believer[s],  
the making of it, measu[re]  
of *kammūn*, bla-  
ck, full measure.

Green, 36.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VI

Unpublished. For “black cumin” and its medicinal properties, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 16–17.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Cf. G. C. Miles, “Cumin and Vinegar for Hiccups,” in *Archaeology*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1951), pp. 23–24.

117.-119. *Measure of whey(?)*.

امر عبد	Ordered the Servant of
.. لله عبد الله	[A]llāh, ‘Abdullāh,
.. مير المؤمنين	[Com]mander of the Believers,
.. صنع مكبا ..	the making of it, measur[e]
المش و	of <i>mishsh</i> (?), full
اف	measure.

117. Green, 40 × 39.  
ANS 54.161

PLATE VI

118. Green, 38 × 36.  
ANS 54.161

119. Dark brownish green, 40.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 151-152. Casanova did not suggest a reading of the word in the next to the last line and simply transcribed the outlines of the letters. See the discussion of *mishsh*, “whey,” under no. 85, above; and cf. nos. 273-274, below.

b) *With ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd*

## COIN WEIGHTS

120.-121. *Dīnār*.

## Obverse:

بما امر به	Among those things ordered by
عبد الله عبد	the Servant of Allāh, ‘Abd-
الله امير المؤمنين	ullāh, Commander of the Be-
مين مثقال دينار	lievers, weight of <i>dīnār</i> ,
واف	full weight.

## Reverse area:

صنعة	Manufacture
كيل	of Chael.

Reverse margin:

عبد الملك بن يزيد      ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd.

120. Opaque black or very dark brown, 29; 4.22.  
ANS 53.49

121. Very dark almost opaque aubergine, 29; 4.18.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VI

Unpublished, but cf. *EAG*, 59 (incomplete), with the word *dīnār* divided between the last two lines. For Chael (Kayl) cf. nos. 99 and 101, above, and nos. 122–123, below.

122. *One-half dīnār.*

Obverse:

ما امر به  
عبد الله عبد  
الله امير المؤمنين  
(sic) مثنى  
نصف وا  
ف

Among those things ordered by  
the Servant of Allāh, ‘Abd-  
ullāh, Commander of the Be-  
lievers: weight  
of one-half, full  
weight.

Reverse area:

صنعة  
كلى

Manufacture  
of ..... ?

Reverse margin:

... ك بن يزيد (?)      [‘Abd al-Mali]k b. Yazīd(?).

Green, 22; 2.09.  
ANS 56.163

PLATE VII

Unpublished. *EAG*, 60, also a half *dīnār*, has a different obverse legend, but the reverse appears to be the same as the present, and I believe the transcription “Kayl” on the former should be corrected to read as it does above. But the possibility remains that on these pieces as well as on *Fouquet*

*Collection*, 34, a dirhem with the same reverse legend (read by Casanova "Koublâ"), the name in the center is كبل, bungled.

123. *One-third dīnār* (?).

Obverse:

بسم الله	In the name of Allāh:
عبد الله	the Servant of Allāh,
... بد الله امير	[‘A]bdullāh, Commander
... ومين	[of the Be]lievers:
(sic) ... ال لم	[weig]ht of (one-third ?),
... ف	[full] weight.

Reverse area:

صنعة	Manufacture
كبل	of Chael.

Reverse margin: traces.

Dark purple, 19; 1.15+ (about 1/4 missing).  
ANS 50.40

Unpublished. It is probable that the unintelligible word on the fifth line is intended to be كبل, for the piece if complete would weigh in the neighbourhood of 1.43 grams. One cannot be certain that ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd was the prefect.

c) *With Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd*

COIN WEIGHTS

124. *Dīnār*.

Obverse:

بسم الله	In the name of Allāh:
امر اميرا	order of the Commander of th-
لؤمنين مثقال	e Believers, weight
دينار واف	of <i>dīnār</i> , full weight.

Reverse area:

مصر

Miṣr

Linear border.

Reverse margin:

بسم الله ع . . . . . د بن سعيد

In the name of Allāh: a[t the hands of  
Muḥamma]d b. Sa‘īd.

Outer border of dots.

Yellowish green, 29; 4.25.

ANS 53.49

PLATE VII

Unpublished. Cf. *Cairo*, 209, where the reverse is not transcribed but the name in the margin is given in translation. There is no mention of the word in the center, and the piece is not illustrated.

I have decided to assign this weight and nos. 125–126, below, to the Caliph al-Manṣūr rather than to al-Mahdi on the following grounds. There is no name accompanying the title “Commander of the Believers” on the obverse, and the Caliph could therefore be either al-Manṣūr or al-Mahdi. Although it might be argued that the Caliph in question is not al-Manṣūr because he commonly calls himself ‘Abdullāh and precedes his name with the Caliphal epithet, “Servant of Allāh,” so also one could decide against al-Mahdi in view of the fact that al-Mahdi’s stamps usually bear his official name, with or without his personal name Muḥammad. Therefore the argument must rest on the chronology of the accompanying name, Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd, whose dates are uncertain but probably between 152 and 157 A.H.<sup>36</sup>

Maṭar was governor from 157 to 159. In *EAG*, nos. 87–88, I read *Maṭar* in the reverses of somewhat similar pieces, but I believe now that all these should be revised to read *Miṣr*, that is, “Egypt.” In the present piece we have the name of the prefect in the margin, and if the word in the center is to

<sup>36</sup> See *EAG*, p. 118.

be read as a personal name, it should be that of the artisan. Furthermore there is a weight of Nawfal b. Furāt (no. 128, below), whose date is indisputably 141 A.H., with a similar legend in the center of the reverse, and it is most unlikely that Maṭar had been an artisan in 141 and governor 17 years later. Therefore I believe that these weights (nos. 124–126, as well as *EAG*, 87–88) must be placed not later than 157, i.e., within al-Manṣūr's Caliphate.

### 125. *One-half dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر اميرا  
لؤمنين مثقال  
نصف واف

In the name of Allāh:  
ordered the Commander of the  
Believers: weight  
of one-half, full weight.

Reverse area:

مصر

Miṣr.

Reverse margin:

بسم . . . . محمد بن سعيد

In the name of. . . . . Muḥammad  
b. Sa'īd.

Green, 22; 2.12.

ANS 53.123

PLATE VII

Similar to *BM*, 30 (Lane-Poole read مصر in the center, and Muḥammad b. Sa'īd's name is incomplete); and similar to *University College*, 199, assigned to al-Mahdi and misread in several respects.

### 126. *One-third dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر اميرا  
لؤمنين مثقال  
ثلث واف

Reverse area:

\*

مصر

Reverse margin:

بسم الله ... يد

Yellowish green, 19; 1.41.

ANS 53.123

PLATE VII

Similar to *EAG*, 88, where the star on the reverse (if any) and Muḥammad's father's name are off the flan.

*F. Mūsā b. Ka'b*

Governor and Finance Director, 141 A.H.: 758/9 A.D.

VESSEL STAMP

127. *One-quarter qist of ..... (?)*.

... م الله ا	[In the na]me of Allāh: or[der of]
... وسى بن كه	[M]ūsā b. Ka'[b]....
... بع [قسط؟]	....[quar]ter [ <i>qist</i> ?]
... واف على	...., full measure, at [the hands of]
... شر	[Muḥammad b.] Shur[aḥbīl].

Green, 36.

ANS 54.158

Probably similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 143, where the alignment is not indicated.

*G. Nawfal b. Furāt*

Finance Director, 141–143 A.H.: 759–760 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

128. *One-half dīnār*.

Obverse:

بسم الله	In the name of Allāh:
امر نوفل بن فرات	ordered Nawfal b. Furāt
بالوفا مثقال نصف	honesty: weight of one-half
دينار واف	<i>dīnār</i> , full weight.



Reverse area:

مصر

Miṣr

Reverse margin:

على يدى . . . . . صير (?)

At the hands of . . . . . ṣayr (?).

Green, 22; 2.11.

ANS 50.170

PLATE VII

Unpublished. Cf. no. 124, above, for a discussion of the reading of the reverse area legend. As for the fragmentary name of the prefect, there is perhaps a possibility that it might be 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Nuṣayr, of whom we have several weights of 30 *kharrūbah*.<sup>37</sup>

## VESSEL STAMPS

129.-130. *One-quarter qist*.

امر نوفل

Ordered Nawfal

بن فرات

b. Furāt

بصنعه ربع قسط

the making of it, one-quarter *qist*,  
full measure.

واف

129. Green, 40 × 36.

ANS 56.8

PLATE VII

130. Green, 38.

ANS 50.40

Unpublished.

*H. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath*

Governor, 141-143 A.H.: 759-760 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHT

131. *One-third dīnār*.

الامير

The amīr

محمد [بن] الـ

Muḥammad [b.] al-A-

[شمت؟] منقا

[sh'ath?]: weigh-

ل ثلث واف

t of one-third, full weight.

<sup>37</sup> EAG, 114-115; Cairo, 359-361; Fouquet Collection, 68-69; University College, 143; no. 205, below; and several others, unpublished.

Green, 19; 1.42.  
ANS 54.184

PLATE VII

Unpublished, if correctly read.

VESSEL STAMPS

132.-133. *One-quarter qist*.

بسم الله  
امر الامير محمد...  
...ن الاشعث بصنعه  
رج قسط وافي  
على يدي عبد الله  
بن راشد

In the name of Allāh:  
ordered the amīr Muḥamma[d]  
b. al-Ash‘ath the making of it,  
one-quarter *qist*, full measure,  
at the hands of ‘Abdullāh  
b. Rāshid.

132. Green, 42.  
ANS 56.8

133. Green, 40.  
ANS 54.14

These stamps are similar to *EAG*, 75, which was erroneously described as a *qist*. A re-examination of the piece reveals the ‘*ayn* of *rub*’, preceding the word *qist*.

134. *Measure of white sesame-seed*.

...سم الله ام...  
...مير محمد بن...  
...مشت بصنعه...  
...يلة جلعان...  
...بيض...  
.....

[In] the name of Allāh: or[dered]  
[the] amīr Muḥammad b.  
[al-Ash]‘ath the making [of it],  
[mea]sure of *juljulān*,  
white.....

Green, 33 × 27+.  
ANS 54.168

PLATE VII

This is new, unless *University College*, 158, and *Fouquet Collection*, 144, both of which are obscure in the fifth line and continue with the name of the prefect, are the same. For white sesame-seed, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 17-19.

I. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd<sup>38</sup>

Prefect, ca. 141–152 A.H.: 759–769 A.D.

## DISK-WEIGHT

135. *One-sixth wuqīyah.*

Obverse (square imprint):

سلس  
وقبةOne-sixth  
*wuqīyah.*

Reverse area:

صنعة  
كامل  
•Manufacture  
of Kāmil.

Reverse margin:

على يدى عبد الرحمن بن يزيد

At the hands of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b.  
Yazīd.

Pale blue-green, 31; 6.23.

ANS 56.8

PLATE VII

Similar to *BM*, 18, which weighs 6.22 grams (96 grains).  
On the *wuqīyah* and its fractions, see *EAG*, pp. 17–18, and  
the references there; also, Grohmann, *Papyruskunde*,  
pp. 147–149; and cf. no. 91, above, for a three-ounce weight.

## VESSEL STAMP

136. *One-half qist.*بسم الله  
على يدى  
عبد الرحمن  
بن يزيد نصف  
قسط وافىIn the name of Allāh:  
at the hands of  
'Abd al-Raḥmān  
b. Yazīd, one-half  
*qist*, full measure.

Green, 40.

ANS 56.8

PLATE VII

Similar to *University College*, 187; *Cairo*, 319 (الرحمن  
transcribed as الرحمان).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *EAG*, p. III.

137.-139. *One-quarter qist.*

بسم الله  
على يدى  
عبد الرحمن  
بن يزيد ربح  
قسط واف

137. Green, 40.  
ANS 56.8

138. Green, 30.  
ANS 56.8

139. Green, 33 × 27.  
ANS 54.164

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 22; *Cairo*, 320.

*J. Yazīd b. Ḥātim*

Governor, 144-152 A.H.: 762-769 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

140. *Dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر الامير  
يزيد بن حاتم  
مقال دينر  
ف

Reverse area:

صنعة  
كل

Reverse margin:

على يدى عبدال . . . ن بن يزيد

Green, 28; 4.23.  
ANS 56.8

5 Miles

Similar to *EAG*, 77–78; cf. *BM*, 14–15, lacking the crescent and the last line (= Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, no. 16).

141. *One-half dīnār*.

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر الامير  
يزيد بن حاتم  
منقال نصف  
واف

Reverse area:

صنعة  
كامل  
•

Reverse margin:

... ي عبد الرحمن ...

Yellowish green, 22; 2.11.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 79; *Cairo*, 197–200 (incomplete).

142. *One-half dīnār*.

Obverse similar to no. 141.

Reverse area:

كتبه  
كامل

Wrote it  
Kāmil.

Reverse margin:

... محمد بن شر [حبيل؟]

[At the hands of] Muḥammad b.  
Shura[hbil?].

Green, 22; 2.11.

ANS 53.123

PLATE VII

Probably similar to *University College*, 164, where the name in the reverse margin is incomplete. On *University College*, 161, with a similar reverse area, the name of the prefect is completely preserved and certainly seems to be

Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl, although, as here, the last group of letters is strangely written. The legend كته in place of صنعة is noteworthy.

VESSEL STAMPS

143. *One-half qist.*

امرا لا  
مير يزید بن حا  
م علی یدی  
لمة نصف  
سط وا  
ف

Order of the a-  
mīr Yazīd b. Ḥā-  
[ti]m, at the hands of  
[Sa]lamah, one-half  
[qī]st, full  
measure.

Green, 39 × 35.  
ANS 54.15

PLATE VII

Unpublished. This is an important piece, for despite its poor state of preservation (it is chipped at the lower right) it almost certainly confirms the association of Salamah with Yazīd b. Ḥātim.<sup>39</sup> The approximate dates of Salamah's office have hitherto been uncertain. In *EAG* (pp. 127–128) I very tentatively proposed identifying him with Salamah b. Rajā', who was governor for a very short period from the end of 161 to the beginning of 162 A.H. I have now placed Salamah (whoever he was) between Yazīd b. Ḥātim and Muḥammad b. Sa'īd, because of his association with these two men, with a date range of ca. 144–157 A.H.

144. *Executive stamp.*

مر الامیر  
یزید بن حاتم  
صلحه الله

[Or]dered the amīr  
Yazīd b. Ḥātim,  
[may] Allāh keep him straight.

Green, 37 × 33.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *University College*, 169–170 (last line misread).

<sup>39</sup> Even less of the names is preserved on the disk-weight, *EAG*, 82.

*K. Salamah*

Prefect or Finance Director, sometime ca. 144-157 A.H.: 762-774 A.D.

## COIN WEIGHTS

145.-146. *Thirty-three kharrūbah.*

سلة متقال  
ثلاثة وثلاثين  
\*)  
خروبة  
∴

Salamah: weight  
of thirty-three

*kharrūbah.*

145. Green, 32; 6.38.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VIII

146. Green, 31; (4.31+, 1/3 lacking).  
ANS 54.159

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 60.

For the dating of Salamah, see p. 57, above. Sometime between the years 144 and 157 A.H. Salamah must have been prefect (علي يدى with Yazīd b. Ḥātim and with Muḥammad b. Sa'īd), and still within the same period but presumably after 152, Finance Director. It was in the latter capacity that he must have issued these weights and nos. 147-152, but it is curious that he never gives his father's name and that his weights do not bear the usual executive formulae.

147.-149. *Fals of 30 kharrūbah.*

سلة  
م

147. Green, 31; 5.82.  
ANS 56.8

148. Green, 32; 5.81.  
ANS 56.8

149. Green, 31; 5.80.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 99–100; *Cairo*, 372–380.

For the Coptic symbol for 30, see *EAG*, p. 11, *EAG Suppl.*, p. 31.

150. *Fals of 26 kharrūbah.*

سنة  
٢٦  
سنة  
٢٦

Salamah:  
26.

Yellowish green, 31; 5.02.  
ANS 56.163

PLATE VIII

Similar to *University College*, 190 (77.1 grains = 5.00 grams), and *Cairo*, 381 (weight not given). Jungfleisch (*Notations conventionnelles*, p. 272) has one in his collection weighing 4.95 grams.<sup>40</sup> The weight of these pieces fairly closely approximates the theoretical weight of 26 *kharrūbah*, 5.119 grams (*EAG*, p. 10). The Coptic notation for 20 on this piece more nearly resembles the Greek form<sup>41</sup> than it does the derived Coptic cursive variety.<sup>42</sup> The figure for 6 is quite clear and is simply a variation of the form on no. 106, above.

<sup>40</sup> It would seem to me that his no. 563, mentioned on p. 271 of the same article, an anonymous weight with, I gather, the same symbols, is also 26 *kharrūbah*, although for some reason which I do not understand he interprets these symbols as signifying 29. As the piece is not illustrated one can judge only by his drawing of the symbols on p. 269, which differs in no essential manner from that for his 26-*kharrūbah* piece on p. 272. Furthermore, both these sets of symbols closely resemble his drawing of the symbols for 26 in a table (p. 270) presenting “numéros d’ordre, sans doute d’origine grecque ou copte mais fortement déformés par l’usage, numéros d’ordre qui ont parfois servi à paginer les premiers manuscrits arabes.” See also the observations under no. 106, p. 42, above.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Garthausen (*op. cit.* under no. 106), Taf. 5 (a MS of 835 A. D.) and Taf. 4b (a MS of 839 A. D.).

<sup>42</sup> As given in Mallon’s table (*loc. cit.* under no. 106).



151.-152. *Fals of 24 kharrūbah.*

سلة \*  
مقال فلس  
اربعة وعشر  
بن خروبة

Salamah:  
weight of *fals*  
of four and twen-  
ty *kharrūbah*.

Square imprint.

151. Green, 29; 4.62.  
ANS 56.163

PLATE VIII

152. Green, 29; 4.64.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 61; *University College*, 188.

## VESSEL STAMP

153. *Executive stamp.*

على يدى  
سلة

Green, 27 × 25.  
ANS 54.160

Similar to *EAG*, 101; *Cairo*, 312-315.

L. 'Umar b. Yahyā<sup>43</sup>

Prefect or Finance Director, sometime ca. 152-157 (?) A.H.: 769-774  
(?) A.D.

## COIN WEIGHTS

154. *Fals of 33 kharrūbah.*

•••  
عمر  
٣٣  
••

'Umar  
33.

Green, 33; 6.26 (small chip missing).  
ANS 56.8

<sup>43</sup> See p. 62 for the proposed identification of 'Umar with 'Umar b. Yahyā and his probable dates.

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 35;<sup>44</sup> *Cairo*, 370–371. For the Coptic symbols signifying 33, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 31–32. The 30 is as on no. 106, above; and the 3 closely resembles the figure in Mallon’s table as well as the Greek form in a MS of 633 A.D. and several MSS of the 9th century.<sup>45</sup>

155.–159. *Fals of 32 kharrūbah.*

عمر  
اثنين وثلاثين  
خروبة

155. Green, 31; 6.23.  
ANS 56.8

156. Yellowish green, 31; 6.23.  
ANS 56.163

157. Green, 31; 6.21.  
ANS 56.8

158. Green, 31; 6.17.  
ANS 56.8

159. Green, 30; 5.89 (frg. lacking).  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VIII

Similar to *EAG*, 120–120a; *Cairo*, 363–367.

160. *Fals of 30 kharrūbah.*

عمر  
فلس ثلاثين  
خروبة

‘Umar: weight  
of fals, thirty  
*kharrūbah.*

Green, 33; 5.82.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VIII

Similar to Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, no. 6; *Fouquet Collection*, 58–59; *University College*, 215; *Cairo*, 362 (points omitted in transcription).

<sup>44</sup> The several points above and below the name and symbols on this piece are not correctly transcribed; they are exactly as here.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Garthausen (*op. cit.* under no. 106), Taf. 4b and 5.

## VESSEL STAMP

161. *Executive stamp.*

على يدى  
عمر بن  
يحيى

At the hands of  
‘Umar b.  
Yahyâ.

Green, 27 × 24.  
ANS 54.175

PLATE VIII

Unpublished, but cf. *Fouquet Collection*, 197, with .....  
عمر بن, possibly the same.

I have been unable to find the name of ‘Umar b. Yahyâ in the chronicles, but I am assigning him roughly to the period of Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd (ca. 152–157 A.H.) because of his association with the latter on two unpublished disk-weights which I have seen in the Benaki Museum in Athens.<sup>46</sup> As for the proposed identity of ‘Umar b. Yahyâ with the man who simply calls himself ‘Umar on the coin weights (nos. 154–160), this hypothesis is based on the argument that there are many points of resemblance between these weights and those of Salamah (nos. 145–152, above), whose dates are roughly contemporary with Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd and hence with ‘Umar b. Yahyâ.

*M. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd*

Governor, 152–157 (?) A.H.: 769–774 (?) A.D.

## COIN WEIGHTS

162. *Dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امير الامير  
محمد بن سعيد  
مقال دينر

In the name of Allāh:  
order of the amīr  
Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd,  
weight of *dīnār*.

<sup>46</sup> I am indebted to Dr. M. Chatzidakis, Director, for furnishing me with photographs of these and other glass weights in his charge.

Reverse area:

صنعة	Manufacture of
سور [س]	Souerous.

Reverse margin:

... يدي سلمة	[At] the hands of Salamah.
--------------	----------------------------

Yellowish green, 29; 4.23.  
ANS 53.123

PLATE VIII

Unpublished. Cf. *Cairo*, 207 (reverse margin effaced); *BM*, 19, with similar obverse and reverse areas, but a different marginal legend; *University College*, 185, with

سعيد بن . . . . .  
The decipherment of the name in the reverse area, which occurs also in association with Yazīd b. Ḥātim, has hitherto been a puzzle, but I believe that I now have the correct solution. Lane-Poole read *عموزين*, “by weight,” which is surely wrong; Petrie read “Suezy” (?); Grohmann recognized the name *تمويوس*, which cannot be read here nor on many other unpublished specimens which I have examined, but which would certainly be a possibility on no. 163, below;<sup>47</sup> and Mme Launois transcribes (*Cairo*, nos. 203–207) *سو بن مر*, with the suggestion (no. 193) that the first group of letters might be the end of *يوسف*, which is clearly impossible. I think there can be little doubt that the name is an Arabic rendering of *σευηρος*, a Coptic version of the Greek (ultimately Latin) name which appears in papyri in the forms *Σουερούς*, *Σουηρούς*, *Σουαιρούς*, *Σουήρις*, *Σοήρις*, etc. (i.e., Severus).<sup>48</sup> On almost every weight bearing the name that

<sup>47</sup> Providing one assumed the fourth letter to be a *و* wrongly engraved (so also with *University College*, 185).

<sup>48</sup> Friedrich Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg, 1922), col. 391; Gustav Heuser, *Die Personennamen der Kopten*, I (*Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde*, Bd. I, Schrift 2, Leipzig, 1929), p. 103, and (a shortened form) p. 105. Another variant Arabic form appears to be *سويرس*, Sabawirus, as in a papyrus of 247 A.H. (A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, II, Cairo, 1936, pp. 182–183).

I have seen, the final *sīn* is incomplete because of lack of room. As remarked above, there are specimens (such as no. 163, immediately below) on which the name appears to be تمويرس, but after searching unsuccessfully for a Coptic or Greek name which might be transliterated into Arabic in this form, I have come to the conclusion that what appears to be a group of two letters before the *waw* is actually a slip on the part of the die-engraver and that the elements are intended to be a *sīn* as on the other specimens. It is indeed improbable that there should have been two craftsmen placing their names on these products in the same shop (presumably) at the same time with names identical except for the first one or two letters.

163. *One-half dīnār.*

Obverse:

امرا لا	Order of the a-
مير محمد	mīr Muḥammad
بن سعيد	b. Saʿīd:
مقال نصف	weight of one-half.

Reverse area:

صنعة	Manufacture of
عو يس	[Souerous?].

Reverse margin:

على يدى سعيد . . . .	At the hands of Saʿīd . . . . .
----------------------	---------------------------------

Green, 22; 2.10.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE VIII

Probably similar to *Cairo*, 208 (reverse margin effaced); and cf. *BM*, 19 (a *dīnār*) with سعيد بن المسيب in the reverse margin, and *University College*, 185 (also a *dīnār*) with part of the same name preserved in the margin. For the name in the reverse area see the discussion under no. 162, above.

164. *Dirhem.*

امرا لا	Order of the a-
مير محمد	mīr Muḥammad
بن سعيد	b. Sa‘īd:
مثقال در	weight of <i>dir-</i>
م	<i>hem.</i>
Green, 25; 2.84.	
ANS 56.8	

PLATE VIII

Unpublished.

DISK-WEIGHT

165. *Uncertain Weight.*

٩.....	[In the name of Allā]h (?):
*ر.....	[order of the am]īr (?)
ن سعيد	[Muḥammad ib]n Sa‘īd:
اوا... ٭	.....
Green, 53 × 38; 30.88 (frg.).	
ANS 54.168	

PLATE VIII

Unpublished. The symbol at the end of the last line appears to be the same as that on a ring-weight of Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd’s (no. 166, below), on a *ratl* in the University College collection (no. 184), another *ratl* in the Fouquet Collection (no. 50, and perhaps no. 51), and on several other unpublished heavy weights. I am unable to suggest an explanation of its significance. It is perhaps related to the symbol on an anonymous weight (no. 214, below), which in turn is probably the same as that on two weights discussed by M. Jungfleisch under the title, “Notations en ‘abjad’ sur des poids arabes en verre...” (*Bulletin de l’Institut d’Égypte*, 1950–1951, pp. 207–212). I fear I cannot go along with M. Jungfleisch’s ingenious theory that the symbol is a date written according to the *abjad* system.

## RING-WEIGHT

166. *Raṭl*.*Stamp A:*

بسم الله  
 امر الامير \*  
 محمد بن سعيد  
 رطل واف

In the name of Allāh:  
 order of the amīr  
 Muḥammad b. Saʿīd,  
*raṭl*, full weight.

*Stamp B:*

على يدى  
 سلمة

At the hands of  
 Salamah.

Dark green, frg. (top and part of one side), width 62, height 50+, thickness 45; stamp A: 35; stamp B: 21; 170.20+.

ANS 54.155

PLATE VIII

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 50 (symbol at end of 4th line not transcribed in text). Cf. no. 165, above.

## VESSEL STAMPS

167.-169. *One-half qist*.

بسم الله  
 امر الامير  
 محمد بن سعيد  
 نصف قسط  
 واف

In the name of Allāh:  
 order of the amīr  
 Muḥammad b. Saʿīd,  
 one-half *qist*,  
 full measure.

167. Green, 41 (with large rim frg.).

ANS 56.8

168. Green, 38 × 34.

ANS 56.8

169. Green, 35 × 27 (one-quarter lacking).

ANS 54.159

Similar to *Cairo*, 204. The name "Saʿīd" appears to be miswritten "Saʿd" on no. 167; on the two others it is incompletely preserved.

170.-171. *One-quarter qist*.

بسم الله	In the name of Allāh:
امر الامير	order of the amīr
محمد بن سعيد	Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd,
... مع قسط و	[one-quar]ter <i>qist</i> , full
اف	measure.

170. Green, 38.  
ANS 56.8

171. Green, 37 × 34.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 168, and *Cairo*, 205-206  
(و of وى incorrectly transcribed as being on the 5th line).

*N. The Caliph al-Mahdi*

158-169 A.H.: 775-785 A.D.

COIN WEIGHTS

172. *Dīnār*.

Obverse:

*	
بسم الله امر	In the name of Allāh: order
المهدي محمد	of al-Mahdi Muḥammad,
امير المؤمنين	Commander of the Believers,
امتع الله به	may Allāh give him long enjoyment:
مثقال دينار	weight of <i>dīnār</i> ,
واف	full weight.

Reverse area:

.....	Man[ufacture of a]-
[لمهاجر؟]	[l-Muhājir ?].
.....	.....



## Reverse margin:

على يدى الامير محمد بن سليمان

At the hands of Muḥammad b.  
Sulaymān.Green, 30; 4.25.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

Unpublished. For al-Muhājir (?), see *EAG*, p. 123, and cf. nos. 174–175, below; Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, *EAG*, pp. 126–127, and cf. nos. 174–175, below.

173. *Dīnār*.

## Obverse:

\*

بسم الله ام...  
المهدى محمد  
امير المؤمنين  
امتنع الله به  
مقال دينار  
واف

In the name of Allāh: ord[er of]  
al-Mahdi Muḥammad,  
Commander of the Believers,  
may Allāh grant him long enjoyment:  
weight of *dīnār*,  
full weight.

## Reverse area:

المؤ  
منين

the Be-  
lievers.

## Reverse margin:

على يدى الامير . . . . . ي مولى  
امير

At the hands of the amīr [Yaḥy]â,  
Client of the Commander of

Green, 29; 4.23.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

Unpublished. I have been able to restore the name in the reverse margin through knowledge of a similar piece in the Muntaza Palace collection in Alexandria, where “Yaḥyâ” is preserved. Cf. no. 178, below, a disk-weight of his. A half *dīnār* of al-Mahdi in the University College collection (no. 197), with مولى امير المؤمنين . . . , is doubtless his also.

174. *One-half dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله  
المهدي امير  
المؤمنين مثقال  
ل نصف و  
اف

In the name of Allāh:  
al-Mahdi, Commander of  
the Believers: weigh-  
t of one-half, full  
weight.

Reverse area:

ضعة ا  
[لمهاجر؟]  
.....

Manufacture of a-  
[l-Muhājir?],  
.....

Reverse margin:

على يدي الامير محمد بن سليمان

At the hands of the amīr Muḥammad  
b. Sulaymān.

Green, 12; 2.12.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

Similar to *Cairo*, 215; probably similar to *BM*, 20 (last name in reverse margin transcribed "...SMR").

175. *One-third dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر المهدي ا  
مير المؤمنين  
مثقال ثلث  
واف

Reverse area:

صنعة ا  
لمهاجر  
•✱•

Reverse margin:

... الامير محمد بن سا. ....

Brownish green, 20; 1.41.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 89; probably similar to *BM*, 21-22 ("....SMR"), and *University College*, 200-201.

176. *One-third dīnār*.

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر المهدي ا  
مير المؤمنين  
منقال ثلث  
واف

Reverse area:

بن ابر  
ميم

Reverse margin:

بسم (?) ..... ي اسمعيل

Green, 19; 1.39.

ANS 53.123

PLATE IX

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 26. See the discussion there, pp. 25-26. Here the name Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm is quite clear.

177. *Fals of 20 (?) kharrūbah*.

Obverse:

بسم الله  
المهدي محمد  
امير المؤمنين  
امتع الله ...  
[فلس ... ؟]  
.....

In the name of Allāh:  
al-Mahdi Muḥammad,  
Commander of the Believers,  
may Allāh give him long enjoyment,  
*fals* of ..... ?  
.....

Reverse: traces of area and marginal legend?

Pale green, 27; 3.93, oxidized and flaked.  
ANS 54.175

Unpublished. The weight would be approximately that of 20 *kharrūbah*.

*O. Yaḥyâ, Mawlâ of al-Mahdī*

Ca. 158–169 A.H.: 775–785 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

178. (*Wuqīyah?*).

بسم الله امر  
الامير يحيى مولى  
امير المؤمنين .....  
.....  
.....

In the name of Allāh: ordered  
the amīr Yaḥyâ, *mawlâ*  
of the Commander of the Believers  
.....  
.....

Yellowish green, 54 × 32+; circular imprint, 33; 17.34+ (frg., about ½ or more).  
ANS 51.119

PLATE IX

Unpublished. This Yaḥyâ is doubtless the same individual whose name occurs in association with that of the Caliph al-Mahdī; see no. 173, above.

*P. Al-Muhājir*

Prefect, ca. 158–169 A.H.: 775–785 A.D.

VESSEL STAMP

179. *Executive stamp.*

على يدى  
المهاجر

At the hands of  
al-Muhājir.

Green, 31.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

6 Miles

Unpublished, unless *Fouquet Collection*, 192, which Casanova transcribes *المهاب*, be similar. The dates of al-Muhājir must fall within the rule of al-Mahdi, with whom he is associated on other glass pieces. Cf. *EAG*, p. 123.

*Q. Wāḍiḥ, Mawlā of al-Mahdi*

Governor and Finance Director, 162 A.H.: 779 A.D.

COIN WEIGHT

180. *One-half dīnār.*

Obverse:

بسم الله  
مثقال نصف  
دينار  
واف

In the name of Allāh:  
weight of one-half  
*dīnār*,  
full weight.

Reverse area:

واضح  
\*

Wāḍiḥ.

Reverse margin:

[على يدي؟] الله

[At the hands of?] al-Mu[hājir].

Green, 22; 2.12.

ANS 56.163

PLATE I

Unpublished. This weight and the vessel stamp immediately following must have been issued when Wāḍiḥ was governor,<sup>49</sup> and al-Muhājir was prefect under him (see no. 179, above).

<sup>49</sup> *EAG*, p. 129.

VESSEL STAMP

181. *One-quarter qist*.

..مر الامير و	[Or]der of the amīr W-
..ضج مولى امير..	[ā]ḍiḥ, <i>mawla</i> of the Comman[der]
..لؤمنين ربع	[of t]he Believers: one-quarter
قسط واف	<i>qist</i> , full measure.

Brownish green, 29.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

Unpublished, but cf. *Fouquet Collection*, 155–156, fragments with ... الامير [وا]ضج مولى امير المؤمنين....

*R. Mūsā b. Muṣ‘ab* (?)

Governor and Finance Director, 167–168 A.H.: 784–785 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

182. *One-quarter (great?) raṭl*.

Central stamp, A(rectangular):

ربع رطل	One-quarter <i>raṭl</i>
.....ك	<i>k[abir ?]</i> .....
.....	.....

Stamp at right, B(rectangular):

...ا.ما	Among those things o[rdered by]
...الامير	the amī[r Mūsā ?]
...بن مص	b. Mus[‘ab].....
...اص	.....

Stamp at left, C (rectangular):

.....	.....
...صر	..[M]iṣr ?

Green, fragmentary (perhaps one half), 86 × 37+ (oval); max. thickness, 17; stamp A: 33 × 16+; stamp B: 22 × 9+; stamp C: 12+ × 8+; 60.10+grm.  
ANS 51.119

6\*

Unpublished. Mūsâ b. Muṣ'ab al-Khash'ami was Governor and Finance Director of Egypt on behalf of al-Mahdi from 7 Dhu'l-Hijjah 167 until 9 Shawwāl 168 (1 July 784–24 April 785 A.D.).<sup>50</sup>

*S. Mūsâ b. Sābiq and Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim*

Prefects, ca. 171–180 A.H. (?): 787–796 A.D.(?)

DISK-WEIGHTS

183. *Wuqīyah*?

Stamp A (circular):

على يدى	At the hands of
موسى بن سا	Mūsâ b. Sā-
بق وصلح	biq and Ṣāliḥ
بن مسلم	b. Muslim.

Stamp B (circular, 1/5 missing): Identical with A.

Stamp C (rectangular, fragmentary):

.....	.....
واف	full weight.

Pale blue-green, 56 (oval); max. thickness, 12; Stamps A & B: 20; stamp C: 13+; 19.08+ (perhaps up to one half missing).

ANS 56.8

PLATE IX

Unpublished. If the rectangular stamp (C) was placed in the center, there were probably two more circular stamps located around it, as are the circular stamps A and B.

Mūsâ b. Sābiq and Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim are, so far as I have been able to determine, unknown in the chronicles, but as there are weights and stamps of Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim associated with Mūsâ b. 'Isâ (*Cairo*, 235–236), and the latter is known to have been Governor of Egypt from 171–172, 175–176 and again from 179–180 A.H.,<sup>51</sup> I have placed Mūsâ b. Sābiq and Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim between these dates.

<sup>50</sup> Al-Kindi (ed. Guest), pp. 124–128; cf. Ṭabari, III, p. 521.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Kindi (ed. Guest), pp. 132, 134, 137.

184. *Uncertain weight.*

Stamp A (circular):

على يدى  
...وسى بن سا  
... صلح  
... سلم

Stamp B (circular): nothing preserved.

Green, 39+ × 25+; max. thickness, 11; stamp A: 21; stamp B: ?;  
9.98+ (fragmentary).

ANS 51.119

PLATE IX

Unpublished. The stamp is, of course, the same as that appearing twice on no. 183.

VESSEL STAMP

185. *Executive stamp.*

... بن ...	[Mūs]â b. [Sā]-
... وصلح	[biq] and Ṣāliḥ
... مسلم	[b.] Muslim.

Green, 19.  
ANS 56.8

Unpublished.

*T. ‘Ubaydullāh b. al-Mahdī*

Governor and Finance Director, 179 and 180–181 A.H.: 795 and 796–797  
A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

186. *One-half wuqīyah (?)*.

مما امر به	Among those things ordered by
الامير عبيد	the amīr ‘Ubayd-



الله امير المؤمنين اطل الله بقاءه	ullāh [son of] the Commander of the Believers, may prolong Allāh his life.
-----------------------------------	--

Roughly circular, pale blue-green, 46; square imprint, 30; 17.33+ (chips lacking).  
ANS 56.8

PLATE X

Unpublished. There can be little doubt about the attribution of this piece despite what I assume to be an engraver's error in the third line (the omission of *bn*).<sup>52</sup> 'Ubaydullāh, son of the Caliph al-Mahdi, was appointed Governor and Finance Director of Egypt by Hārūn al-Rashīd on 13 Muḥarram 179 (8 April 795), but until his arrival in Egypt on 11 Rabī' I of that year (June 795) he was represented by 'Abdullāh b. al-Musayyib. On the 3rd of Ramaḍān (20 November 795) 'Ubaydullāh was relieved by Mūsā b. 'Isā (see p. 74, above), and he left Egypt on 2 Shawwāl. He was reappointed to the position in Jumādā II 180 (August 796) and arrived at his post on 4 Sha'bān of that year (12 October 796). He remained in office until 3 Ramaḍān 181 (29 October 797).<sup>53</sup>

This is the first glass piece of 'Ubaydullāh to be published. A few dirhems struck at Armīniyah when he was governor of that province in 172 and 174 A.H. bear his name.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> The weight could not be one of the first Fātimid Caliph al-Mahdi 'Ubaydullāh. The piece came from Egypt, is typically Egyptian, and the epigraphy does not suit the late 3rd or early 4th centuries of the Hijrah.

<sup>53</sup> The full sources are cited in A. Grohmann, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, Series III, *Arabica*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 141.

<sup>54</sup> 172: Aḥmed Ziya, *Mesukāt-i Islāmīyeh* (Constantinople, 1910), no. 420 (with 'Ubaydullāh mistranscribed 'Abdullāh); 174: H. Nützel, *Katalog der orientalischen Münzen*, I (Berlin, 1898), no. 960, and A. Markov, *Inventarii Katalog Musulmanskikh Monet* (St. Petersburg, 1896), p. 27, no. 378. Cf. R. Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter von Armenien unter den Abbasiden, von as-Saffach bis zur Krönung Aschots I., 750–887* (Vienna, 1931), p. 31 (Markov does not record 'Ubaydullāh's name, but Vasmer must have examined the coin himself).

*U. Mu‘āwīyah b. Zufar*

Prefect ca. 180–190 A.H.(?): ca. 796–806 A.D.(?)

DISK-WEIGHT

187. [*One-half wuqīyah* ?].

على يدى معو	At the hands of Mu‘āwi-
ية بن زفر (?) المحس...	yah b. Zufar (?) al-Muḥs[ini ?],
مولى الامير	<i>mawlā</i> of the amīr
.....	.....

Green, frg. (about  $\frac{2}{3}$ ),  $35 \times 29+$ ; square imprint, 19; 9.30+.

ANS 54.15

PLATE X

Unpublished.

RING-WEIGHT

188. *Great raṭl*.

Stamp A (square, in center):

رطل	<i>Raṭl</i>
كبير	<i>kabīr</i> ,
واف	full weight.

Stamp B (square, at right):

على يدى معو	At the hands of Mu‘āwi-
ية بن زفر (?) الم...	yah b. Zufar(?) al-M....
الامير ....	<i>mawlā</i> of the amīr
.....	.....

Stamp C (rectangular, at left):

الام...	The amīr.....
.....	.....
و.....	w.....,
كرمه....	[may Allāh] be generous to him.

Green, intact but large chip off two sides and smaller chips,  $82 \times 78 \times 44$ ; imprints, A: 22; B: 20; C:  $11+ \times 21$ ; 464.00+.

ANS 54.157

PLATE X

Unpublished. Stamp B is in all probability the same as the stamp on no. 187, above.

The suggested identification of the prefect whose name appears on nos. 187 and 188 is made with great reserve. Ṭabari<sup>55</sup> mentions a certain Mu'āwiyah b. Zufar b. 'Āṣim, who led the summer raids into Anatolia in the years 178 and 180. This is the only person with this name that I have been able to find in the chronicles; it is not altogether out of the question that this man was later (or even before his duties in the field) prefect in Egypt. Eventually we may turn up other specimens bearing this man's stamps, and let us hope with the name of the governor preserved.

### V. *Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Baḥbāḥ*

Governor, 193–194 A.H.: 808–810 A.D.

#### COIN WEIGHT

189. *Dīnār*.

Area:

مثقال

دينر ••

واف

Margin:

مما امر به الامير الحسين بن . . .

Very pale blue-green, 29; 4.24.

ANS 56.8

PLATE X

Similar to *EAG* 108–109. I am now convinced that this man's name was not al-Ḥasan, but al-Ḥusayn. The name is obscure here but on the ring-weight described below it is quite clear. My doubts about the reading of his name were expressed in *EAG*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>55</sup> III, pp. 637, 645.

190. *Great ratl.*

Among those things ordered by the  
amīr al-Ḥusayn

b. al-Baḥbāḥ, may Allāh preserve  
him:

*raṭl kabīr*, full weight;  
at the hands of ‘Abdullāh b.  
‘Uthmān.

PLATE X

*W. 'Isâ b. Manşûr*

## DISK-WEIGHT

## At the hands of the amīr

‘Īsâ b. Manṣûr,

[*mawlá* of the Commander of the Believers?].

ANS 56.8

Digitized by Google

Unpublished. Cf. a ring-weight in the University College collection, no. 218; and two executive stamps in *Cairo*, 247–248. There is some uncertainty about the dates of the two prefectures of ‘Isâ b. Manşûr b. Mûsâ al-Râfi‘i (or al-Râfiqi?).<sup>56</sup> His first term began sometime in 216 and ended evidently on 18 Şafar 217 (831–25 March 832); his second began on 7 Muḥarram 229 and appears to have ended on 15 Rabī‘ I, 233 (6 October 843–29 October 847).<sup>57</sup>

### X. *The Caliph al-Mu‘taṣim* (?)

218–227 A.H.: 833–842 A.D.

#### VESSEL STAMP

#### 192. *Uncertain Stamp.*

... ما امر	Among those things ordered [by]
... لامام الم...	[the] Imām al-Mu‘[taṣim ?]
... لله امير الم...	[bi’]llāh, Commander of the B[e]-
.....	[lievers].

Green, 21; small frg. of rim preserved.  
ANS 56.176

Unpublished. The attribution is not certain, but the style of epigraphy suggests the period of al-Mu‘taṣim. Ring-weights of his are known: e.g., *Fouquet Collection*, 45, and *University College*, 219.

<sup>56</sup> Actually he was acting governor on behalf of al-Mu‘taṣim, Abu-Ja‘fa Ashinās and Itākh al-Turki.

<sup>57</sup> Al-Kindi, pp. 190, 192, 196; al-Maqrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, pp. 311–312; cf. Grohmann, *op. cit.* under no. 186, above, I<sup>3</sup>, p. 146. Zambaur’s date (*Manuel*, p. 27) differ somewhat; I believe he misread Maqrīzi’s “governed the first time” as “1 Muḥarram.”

Y. Mūsā b. abi'l-‘Abbās

Governor, 219–224 A.H.: 834–839 A.D.

DISK-WEIGHT

193. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

على يدى	At the hands of
موسى بن	Mūsā b.
ابى العباس	abi'l-‘Abbās.

Dark amber, 37; square imprint, 21; 15.74 (intact).  
ANS 56.8

PLATE X

Unpublished. For Mūsā b. abi'l-‘Abbās, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 27–28.<sup>58</sup>

VESSEL STAMP

194. *Executive stamp*.

على يدى  
... سى بن  
... با ...

Pale green, 14.  
ANS 54.154

Unpublished as a separate vessel stamp, but the legend is the same as that on no. 193; and cf. *EAG Suppl.*, 30; *Fouquet Collection*, 172 and an unspecified number between 199 and 235.

<sup>58</sup> There are two typographical errors on p. 27: “934” for “834,” and “perfect” for “prefect.”

## Z. 'Ali b. Yaḥyā

Governor, 226-229 A.H.: 841-843 A.D.

## DISK-WEIGHT

195. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

الامير على  
بن يحيى مولى  
امير المؤمنين  
إقامه الله

The amīr 'Ali  
b. Yaḥyā, *mawla*  
of the Commander of the Believers,  
may Allāh preserve him.

Yellowish green, 36; max. thickness, 9; square imprint, 19×20;  
16.06 (intact).

ANS 53.49

PLATE X

Unpublished. 'Ali b. Yaḥyā al-Armani governed on behalf of Abu-Ja'far Ashinās from 9 Rabī' II 226 (5 February 841) until (officially) 7 Dhu'l-Hijjah 228 (6 September 843) and probably continued in office until 7 Muḥarram 229 (6 October 843), when he was succeeded by 'Isā b. Maṣṣūr (see p. 80, above).<sup>59</sup> So far as I know this is the first glass piece of 'Ali b. Yaḥyā to be published.

AA. *The Caliph al-Wāthiq*

227-232 A.H.: 842-847 A.D.

## RING-WEIGHT

196. *Uncertain weight.*

.....  
... مرا الله بالعدل ...  
... ذلك امر به عب ...

.....  
[Com]manded Allāh justice.....  
[and ac]cordingly ordered the Serv-  
[ant of Allāh]

<sup>59</sup> Al-Kindi, pp. 195-197; cf. Grohmann, *op. cit.* under no. 186, above, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 154.

... رون الامام الو... [Hā]rūn, the Imām, al-W[āthiq]  
 ... امير المؤمنين ... [bi'llāh], Commander of the Be[lie-  
 vers],  
 ... الله ... may Allāh ..... him.

Green, small frg. of top only, 57×37×22; 35.38.  
 ANS 54.159

PLATE XI

This weight is in all probability identical with one described by M. Jungfleisch in *Un poids et une estampille*, p. 2; cf. also a ring-weight (?) with possibly the same legend (although differently read) and an additional date stamp (228 A.H. ?), in the Innès collection.<sup>60</sup>

*BB. Yazīd b. ‘Abdullāh*

Governor, 242–253 A.H.: 856–867 A.D.

RING-WEIGHT

197. [Raṭl?].

بسم الله بركة مما امر In the name of Allāh: blessing;  
 به الامير يزيد بن عبدالله among those things ordered  
 مولى امير المؤمنين by the amīr Yazīd b. ‘Abdullāh,  
 اطال الله بقاهما mawlā of the Commander of the  
 Believers,  
 may Allāh prolong their lives.

Green, with iridescent patina, fragmentary, 43×46+×36+; square  
 imprint, 27; 104.07+.  
 ANS 54.155

PLATE XI

Probably similar to *University College*, 238–239, partially misread, and to *Fouquet Collection*, 56, also partly misread. For a disk-weight of Yazīd b. ‘Abdullāh, see *EAG Suppl.*, 32,

<sup>60</sup> M. Casanova, *Étude sur les inscriptions arabes des poids et mesures en verre* (Communication faite à l’Institut Égyptien dans la séance du 6 Mars 1891), Cairo, 1891, p. 25.



where (pp. 30–31) other weights of his are mentioned.<sup>61</sup> It is of interest to note that the stamp on our piece has an empty space, sufficient for two lines, at the bottom, and that in this respect it resembles *University College*, 238–239. *University College*, 237, evidently had another line or two. M. Junge, who donated the present piece to the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, remarked that this was “2<sup>e</sup> émission avec la malédiction contre les prévaricateurs 5<sup>e</sup> ligne—bouchée.” It does indeed appear that the lower part of the legend had been obliterated on the die. Yazīd ‘Abdullāh’s career is summarized in *EAG Suppl.*, p. 30.

<sup>61</sup> The specimen in the Fouquet Collection is there mistakenly referred to as a disk-weight; it is a ring-weight.

### III. ṬULŪNIDS

#### A. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn

Governor (and Semi-Independent Ruler) of Egypt  
254–270 A.H.: 868–884 A.D.

#### DISK-WEIGHTS

198.–199. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

بما امر به الا	Among those things ordered by the a-
مير احمد بن طو	mīr Aḥmad b. Ṭū-
لون مولى امير	lūn, <i>mawlā</i> of the Commander
المؤمنين	of the Believers.

198. Green, 38; max. thickness, 8; circular imprint, 22; 16.52 (intact).  
ANS 56.163

199. Green, 37 × 34; max. thickness, 9; circular imprint, 21; 15.83 (intact).  
ANS 54.175

PLATE XI

Unpublished. Two other weights and a vessel stamp of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn have been published: a disk-weight (one-quarter *raṭl*),<sup>62</sup> a ring-weight dated 259,<sup>63</sup> and a vessel stamp,<sup>64</sup> not bearing Aḥmad's name but dated 260 A.H. See also no. 200, below.

#### RING-WEIGHT

200. [*Raṭl?*].

بسم الله بركة من الله	In the name of Allāh: blessing from Allāh;
امره الامير احمد بن طو	ordered it the amīr Aḥmad b. Ṭū-

<sup>62</sup> Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, no. 19 (name misread).

<sup>63</sup> Jungfleisch, *Un poids et une estampille*, p. 7.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

لون مولى امير المؤ	lūn, <i>mawlā</i> of the Commander of the Be-
منين فى سنة	lievers, in the year
تسع وخمسين	nine and fifty
ومائتين	and two hundred.

Green, frg. of top and right side only,  $53 \times 38+ \times 38+$ ; rectangular imprint,  $27 \times 25$ ; 103.49+.

ANS 54.160

PLATE XI

Similar to Jungfleisch, *Un poids et une estampille*, except that he transcribes البركة in place of بركة. As that piece is illustrated only by a drawing it is impossible to verify whether the definite article is present or not. Here the article is definitely lacking.

*B. Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad*

Ruler of Egypt, 270–282 A.H.: 884–896 A.D.

RING-WEIGHT

201. [*Raṭl?*].

Stamp A:

بركة من الله  
للامير خمارويه  
[?.....]

Blessing from Allāh  
on the amīr Khumārawayh  
.....  
(Possibly no 3rd line)

Stamp B:

بركة  
لا  
[?.....]

As stamp A.

Dark brown, frg. of top and right side only,  $50+ \times 43 \times 43+$ ; square imprints A and B: 24; 142.06+.

ANS 54.168

PLATE XI

Unpublished. This is the first known weight of the Ṭulūnid prince Khumārawayh, and, unless I am mistaken, the latest weight of the ‘Abbāsid period to be published.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>65</sup> The pieces of the later ‘Abbāsid Caliphs (al-Mustaḍi, al-Nāṣir, etc., *BM*, pp. 36–38, etc., are actually Ayyūbid. I am sceptical about the attribution by Rogers of a one-third *dīnār* weight supposedly of the Caliph al-Muqtadir (*BM*, p. xxviii). Exception, however, should be made with regard to nos. 260–261, below, if indeed my proposal to date this piece in the 3rd century of the Hijrah is acceptable.

#### IV. UNIDENTIFIED OFFICIALS<sup>66</sup>

##### *A. Abān b. Ibrāhīm*

##### VESSEL STAMP

202. *Executive stamp.*

على يدى  
ابان بن  
ابراهيم

Green, 30.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 1111; *EAG Suppl.*, 33; *Cairo*, 317–318.

##### *B. Idrīs and Mūsā*

##### COIN WEIGHT ?

203. [*Fals of 36 kharrūbah?*].

ادريس وموسى  
ابن مهدي  
\*

Idrīs and Mūsā,  
sons of (?) Mahdi.

Dark amber, 33; 7.07.  
ANS 53.49

PLATE XI

Unpublished. This curious weight closely resembles one in the Llewelyn-Phillips Collection in the British Museum, and also is not unlike another in that collection and one in the University College Collection (no. 249), with . . . . . and 'Isâ, ماسى يحيى. At the present time I have no explanation of the anomalous legend to propose. ابن آبنى is a quasi-plural of ابن.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Arranged alphabetically.

<sup>67</sup> Lane, I, p. 262, col. 2.

## C. Ḥakam b. Yaḥyâ (?)

## VESSEL STAMP

204. *Executive stamp.*

على يدى	At the hands of
حكم	Ḥakam
بن يحيى (?)	b. Yaḥyâ (?).

Green, 36 × 33.  
ANS 53.49

PLATE XI

Unpublished.

## D. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Nuṣayr

## COIN WEIGHT

205. *Fals of 30 kharrūbah.*

على يدى عبد  
الجبار بن نصير  
مثقال فلس  
خروبة  
(\*)

Green, 32; 5.73.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 114–115; *Cairo*, 359–361 (symbol omitted from the transcription). For the Coptic figure, see *EAG*, p. 11, *EAG Suppl.*, p. 31, and *supra*, p. 58.

## E. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr

## COIN WEIGHTS

206.–207. *Fals of 20 kharrūbah.*

مما امر به	Among those things ordered by
محمد بن عمرو	Muḥammad b. ‘Amr:
مثقال فلس وزن	weight of <i>fals</i> , weight
عشرين خروبة	twenty <i>kharrūbah</i> .

7\*

206. Green, 28; 3.85.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XI

207. Green, 28; 3.84.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to Rogers, *JRAS* 1878, no. 4 (partly misread);  
*Fouquet Collection*, 45-47; *Cairo*, 354-356.

*F. Maslamah?*

COIN WEIGHT?

208. *Fals of 24 kharrūbah?*

مسلمة (?) Maslamah (?).

Pale green, 26 × 24; 4.73.  
ANS 56.164

Unpublished. The piece is crudely made, of irregular thickness, and imperfectly inscribed. It is possibly of a much later period.

*G. Hilāl b. al-Jabbār?*

COIN WEIGHT

209. *One-half dīnār.*

Obverse:

٢٢  
بسم الله  
مثقال نصف  
دينار  
واف

In the name of Allāh:  
weight of one-half  
*dīnār*,  
full weight.

Reverse area:

الجبار (?) al-Jabbār (?).

Reverse margin:

على يدى . . . هلال بن

At the hands of . . . . Hilāl b.

Green, 22; 2.12.  
ANS 56.163

PLATE XI

Unpublished. The prefect might possibly be the same individual whose name was read Hilāl al-Jabbār (?) on *EAG*, 125. The two elements above *b'ism* look very much like the Arabic figures  $\mathfrak{w}$ , but they are not altogether clear and this may be an illusion.

*H. Yahyâ b. Ḥātim*

RING-WEIGHT

210. *Uncertain weight.*

ما امر  
به يحيى  
بن حاتم

Among those things ordered  
by Yahyâ  
b. Ḥātim.

Pale bluish green, part of top only,  $54+ \times 59 \times 33+$ ; 140.84+.  
ANS 55.145

PLATE XII

Unpublished. The epigraphy is curious: it is difficult to say whether it is a crude early script or a later semi-cursive style.



## V. ANONYMOUS COIN WEIGHTS

### A. "Al Muḥammad"

211.-212. *Dīnār*.

بسم الله  
امر ال محمد  
مثقال دينار  
واف  
✱

In the name of Allāh:  
order of the Family of Muḥammad:  
weight of *dīnār*,  
full weight.

211. Green, 30; 4.23.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

212. Green, 30; 2.85 + (1/3 lacking).  
ANS 51.119

Similar to *Cairo*, 145. Quite a few weights and stamps with the enigmatic legend "Al Muḥammad" have been published: dirhems of 13 *kharrūbah*;<sup>68</sup> half-*raṭl* of *duhn*;<sup>69</sup> and quarter-*qisṭ*.<sup>70</sup> The problem of the significance of "the Family of Muḥammad" as the issuing authority for these pieces remains unsolved. Certainly these weights and stamps are not, as Casanova suggested, to be dated in the Fāṭimid period.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *BM*, 33; *Fouquet Collection*, 44; *University College*, 94; *Cairo*, 146.

<sup>69</sup> *Fouquet Collection*, 165.

<sup>70</sup> *Fouquet Collection*, 162-164; *University College*, 95; *Cairo*, 143.

<sup>71</sup> Might the governor Wāḍiḥ (cf. nos. 180-181) perhaps have issued these pieces? Ibn Taghribirdi tells us that he "inclined toward" the 'Alids and actually these sympathies led to his execution in 169 A. H. (ed. Juynboll, I, p. 433). This is pure speculation, needless to say, and it is doubtful that the hypothesis could ever be substantiated.

*B. Pious Phrase Only*213. [*Dīnār*?].

الله  
فاله

Pale blue-green, 27; 4.25.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 214, the weight of which was not given. With a small fragment missing it weighs 2.98, but the missing fragment is not large enough to bring the weight up to that of a full *dīnār*. The weight of the present piece, quite suitable for a *dīnār*, may simply be a coincidence, and it is not improbable that pieces of this type are not weights but tokens of some sort.

214. [*Dīnār*].

See illustration.

Green, 25; 4.23.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

This curious piece is obviously related to *BM*, 46, and to two weights (4.22 and 1.40 grams respectively) published by M. Jungfleisch.<sup>72</sup> The legend on the present piece is retrograde, the first line clearly بسم الله, as on the published specimens. The second line on the latter is ربي الله ("Allāh is my Lord"); here the *ra* is missing, unless it is the small mark above the line at the left. Lane-Poole read دينار in the third line, although I would say to judge by the illustration that this is not certain. Here the symbol resembles the transcribed figure on Jungfleisch's specimens. I regret to say that I find it impossible to subscribe to Jungfleisch's ingenious inter-

<sup>72</sup> "Notations en 'abjad' sur des poids arabes en verre," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXXIII (1950-1951), pp. 207-212.

pretation of this symbol to the effect that the curious element in the center of the second line is an *abjad* notation for the date 160; but I have no explanation of my own.

### C. Standard Anonymous Weights

#### 215. One-third *dīnār*.

بسم الله  
مثقال ثلث  
دينار واثق  
✱

In the name of Allāh:  
weight of one-third  
*dīnār*, full weight.

Amber, 18; 1.42.  
ANS 56.163

PLATE XII

Unpublished. The only published anonymous one-third *dīnār* weight that I am aware of is *University College*, 202, which has a different legend.

#### 216. *Fals* of 30 *kharrūbah*.

مثقال  
فلس  
ثلاثين  
خروبة

Weight of  
*fals* of  
thirty  
*kharrūbah*.

Green, 31; 5.80.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 15–16.

#### 217. *Fals* of 30 *kharrūbah*.

Retrograde:

مثقال فا  
س ثلاثين خر  
[و]بة واثق

Weight of *fal-*  
s of thirty *kharr-*  
[*ū*]*bah*, full weight.

(Shallow imprint)

Pale green, 29 × 26; 4.13.  
ANS 53.50

Similar to *BM*, 38, where Lane-Poole transcribed قيراط, but the illustration suggests that the word is *mithqāl*, as here.

218. *Fals of 27 kharrūbah.*

هذا مثقال  
ل فلس سبع  
وعشرين  
خرو  
بة \*

Green, 31; 5.29.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 37.

219. *Fals of 26 qīrāt.*

مثقال [فلس؟]  
سته وعشرين  
قيرط

Weight [of *fals*?]  
of six and twenty  
*qīrāt*.

Green, 30; 5.12.  
ANS 56.8

Unpublished.

220. *Fulūs of 26 kharrūbah.*

هذا مثقال  
الفلوس ستة  
وعشرين خروبة

This is the weight  
of the *fulūs* of six  
and twenty *kharrūbah*.

Green, 33; 5.37 (broken and mended).  
ANS 54.164

Unpublished. Especially noteworthy is the use of the word *fulūs* in place of the usual singular *fals*.

221. *Fals of 25 kharrūbah.*

٥  
 فلس  
 خمس و  
 عشرين  
 خروبة

Pale green, 30; 5.17.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 134–137; *EAG Suppl.*, 38.

222.–223. *Fals of 25 kharrūbah.*

Within square and circle:

مثقال فلس	Weight of <i>fals</i>
(sic) خمس و علس	of five and twen-
ين خروبة	ty <i>kharrūbah</i> .

222. Opaque black, 29; 4.87.  
ANS 56.8

223. Opaque black, 29; 4.93.  
ANS 54.159

PLATE XII

Probably similar to *BM* 39, 39G (not illustrated). Note the curious spelling of the first part of “twenty-five.”

224.–225. *Fals of 25 kharrūbah.*

هذا مثقالا  
 افس (sic) خمس  
 وعشرين  
 خرو  
 بة \*

224. Pale bluish green, 30; 4.86.  
ANS 56.8

225. Green, 31; 4.88.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

Similar to *EAG Suppl.*, 39, where it is noted that the ل of مثقال is reversed; actually it is simply ا as here, and فلس in each case is written as transcribed above.

226. *Fals* of 25 qīrāt.

مثقال فلس  
واف وزن  
خمسة وعشر  
بن قيرط

Green, 30; 4.84.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 138.

227. [*Fals*] of 24 qīrāt.

وزن ار  
بعة وعشر  
بن قيرطا

Green, 29; 4.83.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 139.

228. [*Fals*] of 24 qīrāt.

وزن ار  
بعة وعشر  
بن قيرط و  
اف

Weight of four and twenty qīrāt, full weight.

Pale bluish green, 27; 4.88.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

Unpublished.

229. *Fals* [of 22 *kharrūbah*?].

مثقال

فلس

Very crude lettering.

Green, 24; 3.34.

ANS 50.170

Similar to *EAG*, 142–143.

230. *Fals* of 20 *kharrūbah*.

فلس

عشرين

خروبة

✱

Green, 29; 4.10.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 144–146; *Cairo*, 343–347.

231. *Fals* of 20 *kharrūbah*.

بسم الله

مثقال فلس

عشرين

خروبة

In the name of Allāh:  
weight of *fals* of  
twenty  
*kharrūbah*.

Green, 29; 3.88.

ANS 56.8

Unpublished.

PLATE XII

232. *Fals* of 20 *kharrūbah*.

مثقال فلس

عشرين خروبة

واف

• ✱ •

Weight of *fals*  
of twenty *kharrūbah*,  
full weight.

Brownish green, 28; 3.85.

ANS 56.8

Unpublished.

PLATE XII

233. *Fals of 20 qīrāṭ.*

... مثقال	Weigh[t] of
... فلس عشرين	<i>fals</i> of tw[en]-
... بن قيرط	ty <i>qīrāṭ</i> , [full]
.....	[weight].

Green, 25; 4.17.  
ANS 54.159

Unpublished.

234.-235. *Fals of 18 qīrāṭ.*

بسم الله  
مثقال فلس  
واف وزن  
مئنة عشر  
قيرط

234. Yellowish green, 27; 3.53.  
ANS 54.159

PLATE XII

235. Brownish green, 27; 3.53.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 148, but no traces of a reverse legend.

236. *Fals of 15 kharrūbah.*

مثقال فلس	Weight of <i>fals</i>
خمس عشر	of fifteen-
ة خروبة	n <i>kharrūbah</i> .

Green, 26; 3.04.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XII

Similar to *BM* 49 (and probably 50, which is described as "same as 48," but 49 is probably intended); also *Cairo*, 328-329.



237. *Fals of 13 kharrūbah.*

مثقال فلس  
ثلاثة عشر  
خروبة


Weight of *fals*  
of thirteen  
*kharrūbah*.

Green, 24; 2.55.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XIII

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 12.

238. *One-half fals of 9 qīrāt.*

مثقال \*  
نصف فلس  
وزن  تسعة  
قر ريطر \*

Pale green, 23; 1.79.  
ANS 53.123

Similar to *EAG*, 150.

## VI. ANONYMOUS AND UNIDENTIFIED DISK-WEIGHTS<sup>73</sup>

### 239. [*wuqīyah* ?].

Illegible four or five line legend within square imprint.

Yellowish green with 4 cobalt splotches, 48; thickness, 17; square imprint, 20; 58.55 (intact).

This piece might possibly date from the Fāṭimid period,<sup>74</sup> but the general outlines of the epigraphy suggest a 3rd century date.

### 240. [*Wuqīyah*].

Traces of 2-line legend, possibly:

الوفا  
الله

Bluish green, 44; thickness, 12; circular imprint, 24; 31.50 (intact, but pitted and partly flaked).  
ANS (E.T. Newell Coll.)

### 241. [*Wuqīyah*].

Traces of 3(?) -line legend.

Yellowish brown, 44 × 41; thickness, 11; rectangular imprint, 21 × 19; 29.30 (intact, but chipped on the reverse).  
ANS (E.T. Newell Coll.)

<sup>73</sup> Arranged in descending order of weight.

<sup>74</sup> The splashes of color are characteristically Fāṭimid, but the large square imprint is typical of the earlier weights. Cf. M. Jungfleisch, "Poids fatimites en verre polychrome," in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, X (1927-1928), pp. 19-31.

242. [*Wuqīyah*].

Traces of 2 or 3-line legend.

Yellowish brown, gray and iridescent patina, 36; thickness, 15; rectangular imprint, 15 × 14; 28.79 (intact, but chipped and worn).

ANS 56.163

243. [*One-half wuqīyah* ?].

A. Large square imprint with traces of 4(?) -line legend, including a star; B. Small circular stamp at side, wholly effaced.

Green, 43 × 39; thickness, 8; stamp A: 34; stamp B: 12; 17.98 (intact, but slightly worn).

ANS 46.134

244. [*One-half wuqīyah* ?].

No trace of legend.

Pale dirty green, 36; thickness, 9; circular imprint, 18; 16.86 (intact, but slightly worn).

ANS (Nies Coll.)

245. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

... ما امر	Among those things ordered....
... مير مواح(ة)	mīr MWAḤ (?)....
[اطال الله [بقاه؟]	May Allāh prolong his life?
.....	.....

Green, 37; thickness, 9; circular imprint, 22; 16.11 (intact).

ANS 54.175

PLATE XIII

246. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

بركة	Blessing
من الله	from Allāh;
واف	full weight.

*Anonymous and Unidentified Disk-Weights* 103

Yellowish green, 35; thickness, 11; deep square imprint, 13; 15.85 (intact, but slightly worn).

ANS 54.15

PLATE XIII

Unpublished. Probably 3rd century.

247.-248. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

على يدى	At the hands of
يوسف (٢) بن	Yūsuf (?) b.
.....	..... (short and crowded)

247. Dirty green, 30; thickness, 11; circular imprint, 14; 14.67 (intact).  
ANS 56.13

248. Bluish green, 31; thickness, 10; circular imprint, 13; 14.62 (intact).  
ANS 54.175

249. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

Traces of 2 (?) -line legend.

Bluish green with brown patina, 32; thickness, 11; circular imprint, 14; 14.52 (intact).  
ANS

250. [*One-half wuqīyah*].

Legend effaced.

Dirty yellowish green, 32; thickness, 10; square imprint, 13; 14.14 (intact, but slightly worn).  
ANS (Nies Coll.)

251. (*Qualified?*) *wuqīyah*.

Stamp A (center):

وقبة	<i>Wuqīyah</i>
*	.....
كل...	full weight.
واف	

Stamp B (at right): effaced.

Pale blue-green, oval, 42 × 38; thickness, 5; stamp A: 30; stamp B: 15; 11.02 (intact, but slightly chipped).  
ANS 56.8

8 Miles

## VII. ANONYMOUS AND UNIDENTIFIED RING-WEIGHTS<sup>75</sup>

### 252. *Uncertain weight.*

Large ring-weight with single square 4 or 5-line imprint on top, entirely effaced; marks of die-prongs at either side of imprint.

Gray-green,  $82 \times 83 \times 55$ ; imprint, 31; 725.00 (intact, but slightly chipped and flaked).  
ANS 54.154

### 253. *Uncertain weight.*

(؟) . . . . .  
.....  
.....

Four prong marks, two on each side of imprint.

Dirty gray-green,  $55 \times 34 \times 52$ ; rectangular imprint,  $22 \times 20$ ; 194.62 (intact, but slightly chipped and flaked).  
ANS 48.98

PLATE XIII

The three-line legend appears to be quite legible but I have been unable to decipher it. The characters are typical of the mid-3rd (9th) century.

### 254. *Uncertain weight.*

عبار	Standard of
(؟) رسف	.....
(؟) المعري	al-Mu'amari (?).

<sup>75</sup> Arranged in descending order of weight.

Green (with gray core),  $56 \times 35 \times 61$ ; circular imprint, 24; 171.00 (intact, but severely flaked).

ANS (E.T. Newell Coll.)

PLATE XIII

The glass is imperfectly fused and the surface has flaked off almost completely on all faces except the top (where the stamp is impressed) and part of the bottom, which bears an effaced circular imprint, traces of which suggest that the stamp was the same as that on the top. The exposed core is heavily pitted and has the appearance of slag.

This anomalous piece is difficult to date. The epigraphy is semi-cursive in character, and this feature together with the use of the word عيار, 'ayār, which does not appear on any of the early datable glass, so far as I know, suggests a late 3rd century, or even a later, date. For another occurrence of the word 'ayār, on a type of weight which I have tentatively assigned to 288 H., see below, nos. 260–261.

255. *Two wuqīyah(?)*.

.....

[...الوفا لله؟]

[وقيتين؟]

ك...

.....

[...honesty to Allāh?

two *wuqīyah*?

.....

Blue-green,  $50 \times 45 \times 29$ ; circular imprint, 23; 96.40 (intact, but slightly chipped).

ANS 54.15

256. *Uncertain weight*.

.....

مولى امير

المؤمنين

.....

.....

*mawlā* of the Commander  
of the Believers,

.....

Green, iridescent patina, top, most of one side and part of the other,  $40 \times 31 \times 50+$ ; circular imprint, 29; 86.85+.

ANS 54.164

257. *Uncertain weight.*

Traces of 3 or 4-line legend.

Green, frg. of top only,  $46+ \times 36+ \times 19+$ ; rectangular imprint,  $31+ \times 24+$ ; 43.61+.

ANS 54.175

The epigraphy appears to be late 2nd (8th) century.

258.-259. *Great wuqīyah.*

وقبة  
كبير  
واف

*Wuqīyah,*  
great,  
full weight.

258. Green, gray patina, frg. top and part of one side,  $30 \times 22 \times 38+$ ; circular imprint,  $20 \times 18$ ; 27.86+.

ANS 56.98

259. Green, frg., top and part of sides;  $36 \times 20 \times 18+$ ; circular imprint, 20; 16.78+.

ANS 51.119

PLATE XIII

Similar to *University College*, 252.

260.-261. *Weight of the standard of the year 88.*

٢٨٨  
٢٨٨  
٢٨٨

Weight  
standard of year eight and  
eighty.

260. Gray-green, top and part of sides only,  $38 \times 23 \times 28+$ ; oblong imprint,  $26 \times 20$ ; 25.30+.

ANS (E.T. Newell Coll).

PLATE XIII

261. Pale amber, oval lump,  $33 \times 28$ ; thickness, 9; (12.52).

ANS

The first of these two pieces is unmistakably a fragment of a ring-weight of normal shape; its small size, however, as well as the legend, discussed below, is unusual. The second specimen, while bearing a stamp identical with the first, is

entirely anomalous in that there are no traces of fracture either at the sides or on the bottom, and its classification here as a ring-weight is justified only on the grounds of convenience in view of the identical legend. The wrinkled bottom of the piece is not unlike that of many disk-weights, but it differs from most of them in that it is more irregular and lumpy. Just possibly the piece was made separately to be sunk into the top of a ring-weight, and the latter operation either was not carried out or else this lump did not fuse with the main body of the weight.

Just recently two pieces with an identical stamp and legend have been published by Dr. Paul Balog.<sup>76</sup> One of these is a ring-weight (65 × 66 × 42 mm.) of which the glass is "dévitriifié, écaillé, tendre et mal brassé, d'une couleur jaune-pâle, sale, grisâtre, presque partout opaque, sauf quelques points translucides." It weighs 291.60 grams. The other is a fragment (55 × 26 × 35 mm.) weighing 105 grams, "meulé postérieurement en forme d'un bloc oblong... Ses surfaces dépolies et sa forme indiquent nettement qu'on a essayé de lui donner un aspect de pièce intacte." The description suggests analogies with our no. 261. After discussing the metrology of the ring-weight (making allowance for loss of weight through wear and comparing it with Byzantine standards) and remarking on the epigraphy, Dr. Balog concludes that the date of these pieces is indeed exactly what the engraver wrote, i.e., 88 A.H.

I wish I could agree with Dr. Balog that we have here specimens of the earliest dated Arabic glass weights to be recorded, but chiefly on the evidence of the epigraphy I am reluctantly very sceptical. Dr. Balog indicates by his drawn transcription that the legend is to be read: نقل عمل في سنة ثمان و | ثمانين but an examination of the illustration of our no. 260 (Plate XIII) I think clearly demonstrates that the second

<sup>76</sup> "Deux poids forts omayyades en verre, datés de l'an 88 H.," in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXXVII (1954-1955), pp. 25-30.



line reads عيار سنة ثمان و. I was at first inclined to read the word at the top as *يسر*, but I now agree with Dr. Balog that this word is in all probability ثقل (*thiql*, "weight") and that what I had imagined to be an 'ayn is in fact a qāf with a crescent immediately above it. Aside from questioning Dr. Balog's reading of the second line I find it difficult to concur in his view that the epigraphy is similar to that of Wāsiṭ dirhems of the late 1st century of the Hijrah. The forked crochets of the *thā* and *lām* of *thiql*, and of the *alīfs* of 'ayār and *thamān* appear to me to exclude an Umayyad date; and this feature, together with the use of the words *thiql* and 'ayār,<sup>77</sup> hitherto unrecorded on any glass weights, suggests to me the probability that the hundred has been omitted from the date and that either "one hundred" or more probably "two hundred" is to be supplied. I would incline toward the latter because we have nothing similar in either form or content of epigraphy around 188 A.H., and while we have no comparative material at all in glass weights for 288, the forked terminations of the letters mentioned above resemble fairly closely epigraphical traits of the Ṭulūnid weights and of certain late 3rd century Egyptian tombstones.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *Thiql* appears to have no specific technical meaning. Lane (I, p. 344) gives the Arab lexicographers' definitions simply as "heaviness, weight or weightiness, ponderousness, gravity." 'Ayār means "a standard of measure or weight," "that which is made, or appointed, a standard thereof, by which to regulate or adjust it" (Lane, I, p. 2209). The only other occurrence of the word on a glass piece which has come to my attention is on no. 254, above.

<sup>78</sup> See, for example, nos. 198–201, above, and cf. G. Wiet, "Stèles coufiques d'Égypte et du Soudan," *Journal Asiatique*, 1952, p. 295, no. 19 (pl. I, at left), dated 264 A. H.; also G. C. Miles, "Early Islamic Tombstones from Egypt," *Ars Orientalis* II (1957), pp. 215–226, especially nos. 1, 4, 5, 9, 11 and 14, all dated in the 3rd century H. As for the omission of the century in writing the date on glass pieces, there are analogies in later periods: e.g., Mamlūk weights or tokens, *BM*, nos. 337–390, *passim*.

## VIII. ANONYMOUS VESSEL STAMPS

262.–263. *Qist of olive oil.*

قسط	<i>Qist</i>
... زيت وا...	of zayt, full [measure].

262. Green, 20.  
ANS 54.175

263. Green, 20 × 17 (fragmentary inscription).  
ANS 54.184

Possibly similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 47–49, read قسط زيت فيه.

264.–265. *Qist of pure olive oil.*

قسط	<i>Qist</i>
زيت	of zayt,
نقيس	pure.

264. Green, 19.  
ANS 54.159

PLATE XIII

265. Green, 18 (fragmentary inscription).  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 50.

266.–267. *One-half of one-quarter qist.*

نصف  
ربع  
قسط

266. Green,  $26 \times 24$ .  
ANS 54.159

PLATE XIII

267. Green, 23.  
ANS 54.159

Similar to *EAG*, 176–178; *Cairo*, 270.

268. *Measure of lupine.*

...ك... [Mea]s[ure]  
.....مّ of *turm[us]*.

Pale blue-green,  $21 \times 17$ .  
ANS 54.175

Probably similar to *EAG*, 182. For *turmus*, “lupine,” see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 14–15.

269. *Measure of dessicated pomegranate.*

مكيل Measure of  
جلنار *jullanār*,  
محشوش dessicated.

Pale blue-green, 33.  
ANS 56.8

PLATE XIII

Similar to Grohmann, no. 1. He read جليبان, *julubbān* or *jilbān*, translating “Erbsen,” and rendered the adjective as محشوش, “gedorrter.”<sup>79</sup> It would seem to me, however, that محشوش (*maḥshūsh*) is a more likely reading of the second word, and the meaning remains the same. The stem حشّ

<sup>79</sup> He refers to *Fouquet Collection*, no. 102 and p. 367, footnote 5, where Casanova cited ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, *Relation de l’Égypte* (transl. Silvestre de Sacy, Paris, 1810, p. 398) for the use of this adjective.

has the fundamental significance, "dried up."<sup>80</sup> As for the substance, the word *julubbān* (*jilbān*),<sup>81</sup> "chickling vetch," can of course be read, but I doubt that this seed or blossom was sold by the druggists and I suggest that *jullanār* (identical in Kufic letters) is the proper reading. The seed of "chickling vetch" or *Lathyrus sativus* of the family *Leguminosae*, while cultivated and naturalized widely in Europe and the Near East and used as a food for both man and animals, produces, when taken too freely, a condition known as *lathyrismus*, a paralysis of the muscles of the lower extremities.<sup>82</sup> The reading جلیان should therefore, I believe, be eliminated from the list of pharmaceutical materials of which the names are preserved on glass measures.<sup>83</sup>

Various elements of the pomegranate (*jullanār*), however, are recognized to have medicinal properties. Dioscorides recommended the fruit, flower and rind, especially as astringents; so also al-Ghāfiqi, and Ibn al-Bayṭār (citing various authorities) speak of the astringent and desiccative effects of the flower.<sup>84</sup> Today the medicinal value of the bark (*Granati cortex*), both of the stem and of the root, of *Punica Granatum* is scientifically recognized. The *Dispensatory*, for example, referring to its use in the treatment of tape-worm, states: "The efficacy of its alkaloids as taeniocides has been abundantly confirmed, and it appears to be established that

<sup>80</sup> Lane, I, p. 573.

<sup>81</sup> Lane, I, p. 440; Bedevian, p. 353, no. 2043; Schweinfurth, p. 62; Muschler, p. 547.

<sup>82</sup> *Dispensatory*, p. 1733. An alkaloid has been found in the seed which paralyzes both the central nervous system and the peripheral motor nerves.

<sup>83</sup> *EAG Suppl.*, p. 49.

<sup>84</sup> Dioscorides, Bk. I, 151-153 (Gunther, pp. 80-81); al-Ghāfiqi, pp. 105 and (translation and commentary) 370-371; ibn al-Bayṭār, Vol. 23<sup>1</sup>, p. 358, no. 494. Lane (I, p. 446) translates this entertaining bit of classical Arabic lexicography: "It is said that whoever swallows three grains of it, of the smallest that may be, on the condition of his taking them with his mouth from the tree, before their opening, at sunrise, on a Wednesday, will not have ophthalmia in that year."

the tannate of the alkaloids is the most effective and least dangerous form of the remedy.”<sup>85</sup>

The name itself is, of course, of Persian origin, *gul-i anār*, “flower of the pomegranate.” The common Arabic name is رمان, *rummān*.<sup>86</sup>

The use of the word *mikyal*, in place of the usual *mikyalah*, for “measure,” is noteworthy on this stamp.

270. *Measure of white sesame-seed.*

مكيلة

جلجلان ابيض

Green, 33.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 180; *Cairo*, 307; Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology (see *EAG Suppl.*, p. 47). For the pharmaceutical uses of sesame-seed, see *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 18–19.

271. *Measure of fresh (?) chick-peas.*

مكيلة

حمص الاسمر

Measure of

*himmaṣ*, . . . . . (?).

Brownish green, 32.

ANS 56.8

PLATE XIII

Measures for chick-peas are quite common: cf. *EAG Suppl.*, 24, and *ibid.*, p. 23, for the alleged medicinal properties of

<sup>85</sup> *Dispensatory*, pp. 1797–8; cf. Allport, pp. 217–218; Grieve, II, pp. 649–650 (where also the demulcent property of the seed, and the mildly astringent character of the fruit, are mentioned); Lloyd, pp. 156–158 (summarizing the official recognition of the rind and of the bark of the stem and root from 1820 onward).

<sup>86</sup> Lane, I, p. 1161; al-Ghāfiqi, p. 371; Schweinfurth, pp. 76, 151; Muschler, p. 673; Bedevian, p. 494, no. 2880; Ahmed Issa, p. 151. Cf. Garbers, pp. 208–209, 317–318.

*himmaṣ*. The qualification, however, is uncertain. The word here is similar to that on a piece in *Cairo*, 304, and the same as *Fouquet Collection*, 76, which Casanova read *الباء* (?), "gras," but the word on that specimen is not completely preserved. Mme Launois suggested a word deriving from *بشر*, "peel." I propose, without much confidence, the stem *بر*, meaning "to be fresh" or "to begin to ripen,"<sup>87</sup> but the word is unfamiliar except with the meaning "frowning" or "contracted."<sup>88</sup>

272. *Measure of red lentils.*

مكيلة

عدس احمر

Green, 28.

ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 179. The pharmaceutical uses of '*adas aḥmar*, "red lentils," are discussed in *EAG Suppl.*, pp. 45-46.<sup>89</sup>

273. *Measure of whey (?)*.

مكيلة

المش (?)

Measure of

*al-mishsh* (?).

Green, 31 × 25.

ANS 54.175

Probably similar to *Fouquet Collection*, 93 and 93 bis, and to *Cairo*, 271, none of which is illustrated. *University College*, 224, appears to be the same, and the present specimen also

<sup>87</sup> Lane, I, p. 202.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>89</sup> The reference in *EAG Suppl.*, p. 45, footnote 83, to *EAG*, no. 58, is mistaken: the latter is a specimen of a measure for black lentils.

seems to have a letter which I read as *mīm*. I should imagine, however, that all these are to be read *al-mishsh* (?), as on nos. 85 and 117–119, above, *q.v.*

274. *Measure of* .....(?).

...مكيا

Measure

...الف

of .....

Green, 31.

ANS 56.8

PLATE XIII

This cannot be *mishsh*, because there is very definitely another letter after what appears to be the definite article; and this letter, being of equal height with the second, would seem to be another *lām*. The surface “swirls” of glass have obliterated the end of the line.

275.–276. *Pious expression.*

الو

فا لله

275. Green, 25 × 23.

ANS 54.159

276. Green, 18.

ANS 54.175

Similar to *EAG*, 189–190.

277.–280. *Pious expression.*

الوفا

له

و

277. Green, 24 × 19.

ANS 54.159

278. Green, 25.  
ANS 54.159
279. Green, 25.  
ANS 56.8
280. Green, 24.  
ANS 56.8

Similar to *EAG*, 187–188, where the crescent is lacking (off the piece); and to *Cairo*, 260, where the crescent is omitted from the transcription but is evident in the plate.



## IX. UNDECIPHERED VESSEL STAMPS

281.-292. Twelve fragmentary, obscure or illegible vessel stamps. Here and there a word is legible, but no useful purpose is served in describing each piece individually.

These pieces have the following accession numbers:

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COIN WEIGHTS: 48-52. RING WEIGHTS: 53-54.  
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COIN WEIGHTS: 67, 77-78. VESSEL STAMPS: 59-66, 68-72.

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